

INTRODUCTION TO MARATHA HISTORY

a) Marathi, Persian and European Sources

Unit Structure

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1.0 OBJECTIVE :-

1. To study different sources of Maratha History.
2. To understand the importance of Marathi Sources, especially the Bakhar literature and its reliability as source of Maratha History.
3. To Study the importance of Persian sources.
4. To Study the importance of European sources of the history of Marathas.

1.1 INTRODUCTION :-

The Maratha Power came to prominence in the seventeenth century with the founding of Swaraj by Shivaji. It dominated the political scene of India throughout the eighteenth century till it became extinct in 1818. The history of Marathas is not only the history of the Marathas or the people of Maharashtra alone but the history of the subcontinent with which the Marathas were directly or indirectly associated.

Allauddin Khilji invaded Devgiri in 1294 and Muslim rule was established in Deccan. Political subjection gradually led to economic slavery. The Bahamani Kingdom which came into existence in 1347 disintegrated in 1526. The states of Ahmednagar, Bijapur, Golkonda, Bidar and Berar had emerged from the ruins of Bahamani Kingdom. Of these five independent Kingdoms, only three namely those of Ahmednagar, Bijapur and Golkonda existed at the time when the Marathas began to emerge from their subjugation. Marathas sought service in these kingdoms and Mughals either for money or in their military in subordinate positions. They were appointed Jagirdars or Thanedars and conferred titles such as Raja, Naik or Rao. They seemed to be content with serving the sultans and Mughals. They lacked national sentiment and were not united among themselves. Shivaji brought them together and build a powerful nation.

The establishment of Hindavi Swaraj by Shivaji proved that the Hindu race can build a nation, found a state and defeat enemies. The Maratha kingdom was transformed by the Peshwas in the eighteenth century into a mighty empire. They conquered a large part of North India. The Mughal Emperor was under their influence. The eighteenth century can be rightly described as the century of the Marathas.

1.2 SOURCES OF MARATHA HISTORY: -

Sources are either literary or non-literary and they throw light on the past. Maharashtra had a rich tradition of historical writings during the medieval period. Literary sources are known as Bakhars. But Bakhar writers lacked scientific approach to the writing of history. Finding historical facts, determining their authenticity, their analysis were not the factors which the Bakhar writers had in mind while writing these Bakhars. Maratha history can be study with the help of primary or first-hand source material like state papers and also with the help of material like Bakhars, Court histories, chronicles, account of contemporary travellers and observations made and recorded by the participants who played their part in an historical event.

The early historical account of the Marathas was presented by Europeans who were in charge of the administration of the newly acquire territories of India. Edward Scott Waring wrote History of Marathas in 1810. Grant Duff, the Resident at Satara published three volumes of History of Marathas in 1826. He based his history on Tawarikhs, Bakhars and State papers of Peshwas, which he got from the Raja of Satara and a number of other persons.

With the introduction of English education and establishment of Universities educated Indians started critically examining the history written by these authors. In 1868, a junior student of the Deccan College, Nilakantha Janardan Kirtane pointed out a few deficiencies in Grant Duff's Work. Kirtane had emphasized the importance of Marathi Sources which were not fully used by Grant Duff in narrating the history of the

Marathas. Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar gave wide publicity to such sources through his 'Nibandhamala' which encouraged the hunt for Marathi documents. With a view to understanding the real and unbiased history of the Marathas, a search for evidence started in Maharashtra in the last quarter of the 19th century which resulted in bringing to the emergence of a huge amount of historical sources in Marathi. A band of research Scholars like Rao Bahadur Kashinath Narayan Sane (1851-1927), Vasudeo Shastri Khare (1858-1924), Vishwanath Kashinath Rajwade (1864-1926), 'Riyasatkar' Govind Sakharam Sardesai (1865-1959), 'Rao Bahadur' Dattatray Balwant Parasnis (1870-1926) and many others made available the treasure of Marathi source material to the scholars of history.

But the most outstanding personality in the field of historical research was Vishwanath Kashinath Rajwade (1864-1926). He went from village to village, tracing old Maratha Sardars, clerks, priests and examining their records. 22 Volumes of these papers have been published under the name of 'Marathyancho Itihasachi Sadhane' (Source material of Maratha history) with his analytical Introduction. He established Bharat Itihas Sanshodhan Mandal. He prepared the ground for future historians.

Historians like Riyasatkar Sardesai, V.S. Bendre, M.V. Gujar, G.H. Khare, N.R. Pathak, Appasaheb Pawar, Setumadhavrao Pagdi, S.M. Garge, S.S. Desai, Dr. A.R. Kulkarni have made immense contribution to the writing of the history of the Marathas.

Maratha History can be conveniently divided into broad periods

1. The Royal period from 1630 to 1713 consisting of the reigns of Shivaji, Sambhaji and Tarabai.
2. The Peshwa period from 1713 to 1818. There is abundant source material as far as Peshwa period is concerned but the paucity of authentic source material is felt as far as the Royal period is concerned.

The causes of this state of affairs are as follows:

- a. The Royal period was a formative period of the Maratha History. There was hardly any time either for Shivaji or the later kings to maintain proper records of their state papers.
- b. In 1689, after the fall of Raigad, the Maratha capital was shifted to Jinji. A number of state papers were either destroyed or damaged in the process of shifting.
- c. The contemporary society was indifferent towards a scientific study of history.
- d. Consequently, only private documents and legal papers like sanads, gift deeds, nivada patras are available and they are of little use in scientifically constructing the history of the Maratha.

The sources of Maratha History are available in Sanskrit, Marathi, Kannada, Hindi, English, French, Portuguese, Dutch and Persian.

1.3 SANSKRIT SOURCES:-

1. Shiv-Bharat :-

Shivaji's court poet Parmananda wrote a Sanskrit poem. It consists of 31 chapters and nine verses. They trace the history of Bhosale family from Maloji Bhonsale to the capture of Shringarpur by Shivaji in 1661. In 1927 S.M. Divekar edited and translated this poem into Marathi. According to Jadunath Sarkar it is a laudatory poem written by a court flatterer. But it is important as a contemporary source.

2. Radha-Madhav Vilas Champu :-

This poem is written by Jairam Pinde in 1653-54. He was contemporary of Shahaji. The poem consists of three parts. The first and second parts deal with life of Shahaji. The third part consists of poem composed by different poets at the court of Shahaji. The poem is highly exaggerated and therefore has little historical importance. But it throws light on the life of Shahaji and Socio-religious condition in the Maharashtra. It was discovered and published by V.K.Rajwade with a long Introduction in 1922.

3. Anu Puran :-

It is believed that this poem is written by poet Parmanand. In 1952, Baroda Oriental Institute has published this work. According to T.S.Shejwalkar, this poem is composed by Parmanand's son Devdatta and later completed by grandson Govinda. It covers the history of Bhosale family from Shahaji to Sambhaji. It is important source to study the relations between Shivaji and Sambhaji.

4. Parnal-Parvat-Grahan-akhyana :-

It is written by the poet Jairam Pinde in 1674. The poem was discovered in the famous Saraswati Mahal at Tanjore and published by S.K. Divekar in 1923. The poem refers mainly to the capture of the fort Panhala. This poem is of historical value for the study of Shivaji's life. It narrates the capture of the Adilshahi fort of Panhala in 1673.

5. Shivrajyabhishek-kalpataru :-

This poem is written by Aniruddha Saraswati. It consists of 234 Shlokas. It is in the form of dialogue between Govind and Nischalpuri, who performed second tantrik coronation. The subject is to prove the importance of the tantrik influence in the coronation performed by Gagabhatt.

6. Rajvyavahar Kosh :-

Marathi language and writing of the seventeenth century was very much influenced by Persian. Raghunathpant Hanmante compiled Rajvyavaharkosh to expunge all Persian terms used in the various

departments of the administration and prepare a new set of Marathi-Sanskrit equivalent of Persian terms. He was assisted by Dhundiraj Vyas.

7. Rajaramcharitam :-

This work composed by Keshav Pandit in 1690. He enjoyed the patronage of Rajaram. It was discovered by V.C. Bendre in the Saraswati Mahal, Tanjore in 1931. It describes the condition of Maharashtra after the death of Sambhaji and difficulties encountered by Rajaram on his journey from Raigad to Jinji in 1689.

1.4 HINDI, KANNADA AND RAJASTHANI SOURCES :-

1. Hindi Sources:-

The Poem Shiv-Bhushan was composed by poet Bhushan who visited Shivaji's Court. He glorifies Shivaji's noble character.

2. Kannada Sources:-

Some of the literary works in Kannada contains reference to Shivaji's career. Of these the Chikka Deva Raja's Binnapam, poet Linganna's Keladinripavijayam are important sources. The latter gives historical account of Shivaji and other rulers and their relations with the Keladi Nayakas.

3. Rajasthani Sources:-

It includes letters written by Mirza Raja Jaising, Maharaja Jaswant Sing. These letters are in Dingal. It throws light on Mughal Maratha relations.

Check your progress

1) Discuss the Sanskrit sources for the study of history of Marathas.

1.5 MARATHI SOURCES :-

The historical records in Marathi are mainly in the form of official and private documents and other including family chronologies, genealogies, chronicles and in the form of ballads.

1.5.1 Adnyapatra :-

This treatise on polity was written in 1715 by Ramchandrapant Amatya, a member of Ashtapradhan Mandal of Shivaji. This document discusses the duties of a ruler who desires to see his kingdom prosper. It is a valuable source which throws light on Shivaji's career and administration. There is a chapter each on the duties of the king and various aspects of administration, revenue, forts, navy etc. It is valuable both from the literary as well as the historical point of view.

1.5.2 Jedheshakavali :-

Some of the families of the nobles in Maharashtra maintained records of the important historical events in which they were directly or indirectly involved. They are known as Shakavalis or Chronologies. The Jedhe Shakavali is one such Shakavali which gives an account of a number of events of the seventeenth century for writing the political history of Shivaji's time. The Jedhe family of Kari (Pune district) played an important role in mobilizing the Marathas under the leadership of Shivaji in his efforts of founding the Maratha Swarajya. Kanhoji Naik Jedhe and Baji Sarjerao Jedhe were in service of Shivaji and Sambhaji. The most of the dates given by Jedhe Shakavali are accurate.

1.5.3 Bakhars :-

The term Bakhar is derived from the Arabic word Khabar which means news or report. In Marathi the term denotes some historical work. It was written in prose in Marathi in the cursive script called Modi. The Bakhars were written by court writers for their masters. The oldest Bakhar according to V.K. Rajwade is Shalivahanchi Bakhar. Rajwade has estimated that between 1566 and 1818 about 250 Bakhars were written. He includes all types of historical writing in Bakhars. Actually, only half of them are extant today and of these about seventy have been published so far.

The main characteristics of a Bakhar are the following.

1. It is written in Modi Script of Marathi Language and in generally in prose form.
2. It is generally written at the instance of the ruler or the chief.
3. Some Bakhars begin with a brief reference to the origin of the universe and its history bringing the account up to the chronicler's main theme.
4. Its emphasis is mainly on political events but they are hardly arranged chronologically.
5. There are occasional reference to administrative measures and socio-economic aspects.
6. It includes traditional records, legends perhaps with a view to making it more readable.
7. It includes many generally supernatural elements and they glorify various deeds of the Bakhar writer's master.
8. Its narration is often in the Puranic Style.

V.K. Rajwade has given a three-fold classification of Bakhars.

1. Bakhars written by contemporary writers.

2. Bakhars based on hearsay or secondhand information. They are based on the memory of the writers who is writing about an event many years after the event took place, or information given to the writer by a third person.
3. Bakhars based on the Bakhars or mere copies of old Bakhars.

Dr. R.V. Herwadkar has grouped the Bakhars under the following heads according to their contents.

1. Biographies :-

Biographies of some rulers of the past for e.g. Biography of Shivaji by Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad.

2. Family Bakhars :-

Describes the achievements of the particular family for e.g. Peshweyanchi Bakhar, Bhosale Vamsa Charitam.

3. Autobiographies :-

Autobiography of Nana Phadnis.

4. Major Landmarks in history :-

Panipatchi Bakhar, Kashirajachi Bakhar,

5. History of particular period :-

Peshwyanchi Akherchi Bakhar.

6. History of particular place :-

Mahabaleshwar Bakhar.

7. Pauranik Bakhar :-

Samarthanchi Bakhar.

8. Kaifiyat

These are the Bakhars written in defense of the policy of their masters for e.g. Holkaranchi Thaili (1761), Bhausahabanchi Kaifiyat.

9. Translated Bakhar :-

Bakhar of Bundelas.

10. Bakhars related to income :-

These are Karina or representation to the state regarding income.

Reliability of Bakhars as the source material for the Maratha history has been a topic of controversy among historians. Sir Jadunath Sarkar condemns the Bakhars as unreliable but still uses profusely for writing.

The historian Rajwade has made a more critical and balanced assessment of their worth as source of Maratha history. According to him, three types of mistakes are found in Bakhars. 1) Mistakes of Persons 2) Mistake of places 3) Mistakes of chronology. These mistakes have crept into the Bakhars because of flight of imagination on the part of writer, general indifference of society towards scientific writing of history and lack of proper training to writers.

But in spite of these drawbacks Bakhars still remains the most important primary sources of the Maratha History as they form a part of historical literature and contain useful information.

1.5.4 Royal period

1. Sabhasad Bakhar :-

The nearly contemporary and the only authentic Bakhar of Shivaji was the Sabhasad Bakhar. It was written by Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad probably in 1694 at the instance of Rajaram at Jinji. Sabhasad begins his narrative with Maloji Bhonsale, then comes to early life and career of Shivaji, upto his death in 1680. He also gives details such as names of Shivaji's eighteen Karkhanas, forts and their income and expenditure. The defect of this Bakhar is that it was written fourteen years after the death of Shivaji. The information is brief but still it is most reliable and useful of all Bakhars.

2. 91 Qalmi Bakhar :-

This Bakhar was originally written by Dattaji Trimbak Waqanavis, a contemporary of Shivaji. It was written perhaps between 1685 and 1707. This collection is called 91 Qalmi Bakhar or narration in 91 sections. The writer narrates the history of Bhosale family from Maloji Bhonsale up to the death of Shivaji. The Bakhar was published by V.S. Wakaskar in Bharat Varsha and Prabhat in 1930.

3. Chitnis Bakhar :-

Malhar Ramrao Chitnis wrote this Bakhar in 1811 on the insistence of Shahu II. The writer's grand father Balaji Avaji was contemporary of Shivaji. The Bakhar is divided into seven chapters, written probably with help of state papers preserved in the family. Chitnis did not follow chronological sequence in writing his Bakhar. This Bakhar was first published in Vividhgyana Vistaar in 1877.

4. Chitrugupta Bakhar :-

This Bakhar is enlarged version of the Sabhasad Bakhar. The writer Raghunath Yadav Chitre had added his poems in it. The Bakhar was probably written 1765. Chitrugupta was closely related to Balaji Avaji, a Chitnis of Shivaji. He gives surname of many important people which is not mentioned in Sabhasad Bakhar.

5. Shivdigvijaya :

This Bakhar was written in 1818. Its writer is unknown. It was published by Dandekar and Nandurbarkar in 1895. The author narrates events like Javali incident, attack on Shaiste Khan camp, conspiracy of Maharani Soyarabai against Sambhaji. Rajwade is of the opinion that this Bakhar is based on some old Bakhar.

6. Chhoti Bakhar :-

This Bakhar was written in 1817. B.J. Modak has published it first time in Kavyetihas Sanghrah. The writer makes mistakes regarding place, dates and persons. But it gives a new outlook on Shivaji's period of rule.

7. Dalpatrayanchi Bakhar :-

This Bakhar is written by one of the critics of Shivaji. The Bakhar is important source for examining the views of critics of Shivaji.

8. Sambhaji Maharajanchi Bakhar and Rajaram Maharajanchi Bakhar:-

Both these Bakhars have been authored by Malhar Ramrao Chitnis. They are biographies of Sambhaji and Rajaram. The author criticizes Sambhaji but glorifies the rule of Rajaram

There are number of Bakhars which are of less important like, Shedgeonkar Bakhar, Shahannav Kalmi Bakhar and Shiv Pratap.

1.5.5 Peshwa period

1. Sashtichi Bakhar :-

This Bakhar was originally written in 1742, to which additions were made in 1782. It mainly deals with the Vasai (Bassein) Campaign, in which the Marathas had registered a remarkable Victory in 1739 A.D. against the Portuguese by capturing the fort of Vasai. The Bakhar gives credit of this victory to Gangaji Naik whereas traditional its fall is credited to the efforts of Chimmaji Appa.

2. The Bakhar of Shahu

This Bakhar is written by Govind Khanderao Chitnis and it deals with the life of Shahu. It gives a detailed description of Shahu's life in the Mughal prison.

3. Peshwanchi Bakhar :-

This Bakhar is written by Krishnaji Vinayak Sohoni. It narrates the history of the rise and fall of the Peshwas. The author glorifies their rule. As it was written in the last days of the Peshwas, it gives a reliable account of only of the concluding days of the Peshwa rule.

4. **Panipat Bakhar** :-

It was written by Raghunath Yadav in 1763 at the instance of Gopikabai, the widow of Peshwa Nanasahab. The author was a clerk in the Peshwa establishment. It gives a list of those who laid down their lives on the battlefield at Panipat.

5. **Bhau Sahebanchi Bakhar** :-

The author of this Bakhar was a loyal servant of Mahadji Shinde. It deals with the Panipat disaster in details. But it is unreliable. However, the Bakhar enlighten us on some of the prevailing social customs like sati, a soldier with an injury on his back was ridiculed in the society because he appeared to be running away from the battlefield when he was injured.

6. **Kashiraj Pandit's Chronicle of Battle of Panipat** :-

Kashiraj Pandit, a Maratha Brahmin who was in service of Shuja-Ud-daulah, gives an account of Panipat in Persian. It was rendered into Marathi in 1810. It is a reliable source of battle of Panipat.

Historians have generally dismissed Bakhars as gossip, yet many of them have used them for writing their own history of the Marathas. The Bakhar may have defects but effort made by the chroniclers needs to be appreciated. They have availed of documents that are lost to us. The study of the Bakhar helps to fill the gaps of History.

Check your progress

- 1) Examine the importance of Marathi sources for the study of Maratha history.

1.5.6 **Official and private letters:-**

Official letters include letters written by the king or their ministers, treaties and engagement, orders, sanads (Grants) or watan patre, and similar other documents. During the Peshwa period, the Maratha activity increased. Their agents were stationed in the courts of different rulers in north India. In turn Maratha sardars appointed their own representatives in the Peshwa's Court in Pune. They kept their masters informed with what happened in Pune. Their newsletters throw much light on political situation of India.

There is an enormous quantity of family papers or private correspondence. Peshwa Diaries belong to this category.

1.6 PERSIAN SOURCES:-

Persian sources are important for the history of Shivaji. In Persian we have history of Mughal Emperors written by Mughal Historians, the dispatches of Jaisingh, and the correspondence of many nobles. As for the dates and incidents, the most correct information is given in the Persian news letters called Akhbarat which are preserved in the archives of Jaipur and London.

1. Masir-i-Alamgiri :-

This is a biography of the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb written by Saqi Mustaid Khan in 1709, two years after the death of Aurangzeb. Sir Jadunath Sarkar translated this work in English and it was published by the Asiatic Society Calcutta. Setu Madhavrao Pagadi has translated it in Marathi.

The writer was an influential officer of Aurangzeb. He had accompanied the Mughal army to the Deccan. He gives detailed account of the Mughal-Maratha relations. This is an important source for the study of Shivaji, Sambhaji, Rajaram and Tarabai. Most of the dates mentioned by him are accurate.

2. Muntakhab-ul-Lubab :-

It was written by Aurangzeb's court historian, Muhamad Hashim Khafi Khan in 1734. He accompanied Aurangzeb in his Deccan expedition. He has described in detail the heroic struggle of the Marathas against the mighty Mughals between 1680 and 1707. Though he was a court historian and loyal to the Mughal Emperor, he pays handsome tribute to the great Maratha Leaders' chivalry and he is our authority for the statement that Shivaji had strictly forbidden his followers to harm any mosque, Quran or women. According to Jadunath Sarkar his account is the most accurate and therefore very reliable.

3. Nuskha-i-Dilkasha :-

This is a personal memoir of Bhimsen Saksena. He was in the service of Aurangzeb. In 1701 he was present at Panhala when Zulfiqar Khan had laid siege to the fort of Panhala. He narrates the Mughal history from 1656 to the coronation of Bahadurshah (1709). As he was present in Deccan during war of independence he gives a detailed account of Mughal-Maratha struggle between 1700 and 1707, Tarabai's character and the leadership she provided to Marathas. It is valuable a source for the study of Rajaram and Maharani Tarabai.

4. Fatuhat-i-Alamgiri :-

It was written by Ishwardas Nagar. He was clerk of the Chief Justice of Aurangzeb. He narrates the history of Aurangzeb from the Shaiste Khan episode to 1700. It gives information on Sambhaji, Rajaram, Kavi Kalash, Durgadas, Prince Akbar, Santaji and Dhanaji. Its makes passing reference of the manner in which Sambhaji was killed by Aurangzeb and the help given by the Rani of Bednur to Rajaram while he was on his way to Jinji.

5. Khatut-i-Shivaji :-

Khatut means 'letters'. This is collection of letters written not only by Shivaji but Aurangzeb, Prince Akbar, Zulfiqar Khan, Jaisingh and Shahu. It includes Shivaji's letter protesting against the levy of Jizya or poll tax. These letters are compiled and translated by Sir Jadunath Sarkar.

Setumadhavrao Pagdi has translated them in Marathi and published it in the book Mughal Maratha Sangharsha.

6. Haft Anjuman :-

This is a collection of letters of Mirza Raje Jaisingh. During his campaign against Shivaji, he had written many letters to the Emperor. His secretary Udayraj had compiled these letters under the title Haft Anjuman. These letters throw light on Jaisingh's southern campaign, his military tactics, and Mughal-Maratha relations. It is an important source for the study of the Marathas.

7. Lutfulla Khan's letters :-

This is collection of letters written by Lutfulla Khan, an influential noble in the court of Aurangzeb. In 1690, he was thanedar of Khatav. He fought many battles with Santaji and Dhanaji. After 1699 he was subhedar at Bijapur, Aurangabad and Varhad. Setumadhavrao Pagdi has compiled 40 letters of Lutfulla Khan. This is an important source to study Mughal-Maratha relations between 1690 and 1700.

8. Matbarkhan's letters :-

Matbarkhan was Mughal officer who conquered many forts in Nasik, Baglan and North Konkan region during Sambhaji's regime. His secretary Jethmal had compiled the letters he wrote to the Emperor and other officers and named it 'Karnama'. Setumadhavrao Pagdi has translated and published them in Navbharat magazine. This is important source to study Mughal Maratha relationship during the reign of Sambhaji and Rajaram.

9. Basatin-us-Salatin :-

This work is history of Adilshah. Muhammad Ibrahim Ali Zuberi has written it in 1824. G.H. Khare and V.C. Bendre have published this work. This work throws light on Shivaji-Adilshah relations.

10. Siyal-ul-Mutakharin :-

It was written by Mughal sardar who spent most of the time of his service in Bengal. His account refers to the civil war between Shahu and Tarabai.

11. Akhbarat :-

The news writers were present in the courts of Mughals. A day-to-day account was recorded by them. Many nobles appointed their agents in Delhi who informed their masters of the day to day happenings in the Emperor's court. The accounts are known as Akhbarat. Many of these accounts are destroyed. Some of the Akhbarats have found in the archives of London, Kolkakata and Jaipur. They have been translated by Setumadhavrao Pagdi and G.H. Khare in Marathi. They are an important source for the study of Mughal-Maratha relations, Mughal administration, the war strategy of Mughal and Marathas. They are helpful in writing chronological history of Marathas because they provide accurate dates.

1.7 EUROPEAN SOURCES.

The rise of the Maratha power in the seventeenth century and the advent of the Europeans except Portuguese on the west coast of India who had come earlier at the end of fifteenth century is a great coincidence. They established their trading companies in India and soon started aspiring for the political power. They were deeply concerned with rapid growth of Maratha power since its establishment in the seventeenth century. According to Dr. A. R. Kulkarni their concern for the rising Maratha power apparently prompted them to learn more about the Marthas who were likely to be their rivals in the course of time. This seems to have been the reason behind the genesis of European writing on the Marathas.

1.7.1 English Records:

The English East India Company had established factories at Surat, Mumbai, Rajapur, Karwar, Madras and Kolkata. A number of minor factories used to send reports to the principal factories at Surat, Bombay and Madras. These records included consultation or proceedings of the councils, copies of letters sent and received and letter books of particular individuals. Reports of the Meeting were regularly sent to the company headquarters in London. These records throw light on the activities of Marathas, policy of the English towards Shivaji and Mughals.

These letters were compiled and published in 1931 entitled English Records on Shivaji. Records in India office London was compiled and published by V.S. Bendre. Eminent Historian S. N. Sen in his foreign Biographies of Shivaji has given an account of English Embassies to the court of Shivaji which is based on originals sources in the Indian Office at London. It also includes Dutch letters translated into English and observations of contemporary writers like Cosme de Guarda, Jean Thevenot and Francois Martin.

1.7.2 Portuguese Sources:

Portuguese were the first to establish their power in India. They settled down at places close to the Maratha territory. They therefore watched Shivaji's activities with keen interest. The Portuguese records, manuscripts are available in Goa and Lisbon archives and they throw light on the life of Shivaji. These sources include letter written by Portuguese viceroys to their king, letters written to Maratha and Mughal nobles, proceedings of the council etc. Dr. Pandurang Pissurlekar has published many important Portuguese documents useful for the study of the Portuguese- Maratha relations. Mr. S.S. Desai has translated Portuguese documents in Marathi.

1.7.3 French Sources:

French Records are available in the London and Paris archives. They include letters written by French to their authorities in France, letters they wrote to Indian rulers. The most important is memoirs of French Governor Francois Martin. He served the French East India Company for many

years. He was first Governor of the French at Pondicherry, His account of the Maratha activities in Karnatak region is of greatest value and importance. He was in Pondicherry and therefore his account furnishes the best contemporary account of Shivaji's Karnatak Expedition. His memoirs constitute a historical document of first-rate importance.

Historian Dr. Hatakhar has written about the relations between the French and Marathas (1668-1815), using French sources. This work throws light on Maratha-French relations.

1.7.4 Dutch Sources:

There are transcripts from the archives at the Hague, Batavia and London. This source gives us information about Marathas. Dr. Balkrishna has used these records in his work 'Shivaji the Great'. Rev. Heras has also translated Dutch Records into English.

1.7.5 Account of foreign travellers:

1. John Fryer :-

Dr. John Fryer was a surgeon in service with British East India Company. He visited India during 1672-1681. He visited Junnar, Karwar, Vengurla and Goa. His travel account 'Travels in Indian in the Seventeenth Century' was published in 1873. He gives detailed account of the reports he heard about Marathas.

2. Nicolas Manuchi :-

Nicholas Manuchi was an Italian Traveller who came to India in 1656 at the age of seventeen. He traveled widely in India. He served Dara Shokoh, Jaisingh, Aurangzeb, Portuguese, and English. His travel account 'Storia De Mogor' written in French and Portuguese gives detail information of Shivaji, Sambhaji, Rajaram and Tarabai.

3. Jean de Thevenot :-

Thevenot visited India in 1666. He narrates the incident of sack of Surat and Shivaji's visit to the Agra, however information given by him is not reliable. Thevenot concludes his narratives as follows "The Raja Shivaji is short and tawny, with sharp fiery eyes that show a great deal of wit".

4. Francois Bernier :-

He was a French Physician and traveller. He arrived at Surat and visited Agra, Delhi, Kashmir. His observations are recorded in the form of travelogues.

5. Abbe Berthelemew Carre:-

Berthelemew Carre has arrived at Surat in 1668. He visited Daman, Chaul and Rajapur. In 1699 he published an account of his voyages which contain interesting biography of Shivaji. He gives an account of Shaiste Khan episode, sack of Surat, Shivaji's visit to Agra. He was great admirer

of Shivaji. He describes Shivaji as one of the greatest men the east has ever seen.

6. William Norris :-

William Norris visited India in 1701 as a representative of the East India Company to negotiate further trade concessions in India. Norris met Emperor Aurangzeb at Panhala. He witnessed the Mughal siege of Panhala. In his account he describes the Mughal camp, corruption, plots and conspiracies of nobles and valour of Marathas.

7. Henry Oxinden:-

Henry Oxinden represented the East India company at the time of Shivaji's Coronation at Raigad. He describes the coronation ceremony in detail and it is considered as the best and authentic description.

Shivaji's heroic exploits, daring deeds and clever stratagems have found fitting place in the accounts of contemporary English, French, Dutch Portuguese and Italian travelers. Although these writers can not be expected to write on accurate and impartial history of Shivaji, they give us some information of historical value.

It is significant also as a contemporary source of information, enabling us to understand the assessment of the activities of Shivaji through the eyes of the contemporary foreigners.

1.13 SUMMARY:-

The sources of Maratha history are not abundant. The Maratha rulers have not maintained their own records and because of the paucity of Maratha records we have to rely on chronicles of their enemies and accounts of foreign travellers who visited India during the period under review. However large number of documents in Modi script give information about their administration. During last century many documents of the Maratha period are published by scholars and historians. As new source material is explored, valuable light will be thrown on the Maratha history.

1.14 QUESTIONS:-

1. Discuss the importance of Persian literary sources for the study of the history of the Marathas.
2. Point out the significance of European sources in the study of Maratha History.
3. Examine Bakhars as a source for the study of the history of Marathas.
4. Critically assess the nature and importance of Marathi sources for the study of the history of the Marathas. How far they are reliable?

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DECCAN IN THE 17TH CENTURY: GEOGRAPHICAL, POLITICAL, SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL CONDITIONS

Unit Structure

- 2.0 Objectives
- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Geographical conditions
- 2.3 Political Conditions
- 2.4 Social Conditions
- 2.5 Economic Conditions
- 2.6 Cultural Conditions
- 2.7 Introduction to the Concept of Maharashtra Dharma
- 2.8 Meaning of Maharashtra Dharma
- 2.9 Principles of Maharashtra Dharma
- 2.10 Impact of Maharashtra Dharma on Maratha History
- 2.11 Contribution of the Saints to Maratha Swarajya
- 2.12 Summary
- 2.13 Questions
- 2.14 References

2.0 OBJECTIVES:-

To understand the political, social, economical and geographical conditions of the Deccan during early seventeenth century.

1. To understand the conditions leading to the rise of the Marathas in Deccan.
2. To know the cultural background prepared by Bhakti movement in Maharashtra.
3. To elaborate the concept and meaning of Maharashtra Dharma.

2.1 INTRODUCTION:-

It is true that Shivaji contributed a lot towards the rise and growth of Maratha power in Maharashtra, but it is equally true that at the time when he appeared on the scene, the ground had already been prepared for him. According to Dr. Ishwari Prasad, "... Shivaji's rise to power cannot be treated as an isolated phenomenon in history. It was as much the result of his personal daring and heroism as of the peculiar geographical situation of the Deccan country and the unifying religious influences that were animating the people with new hopes and aspirations in the 15th and 16th centuries."

2.2 GEOGRAPHICAL CONDITIONS:-

Maharashtra is a part of the geological division of India called the Deccan. It lies between the Arabian Sea in the west to the river Wardha in the east, from Satpura at the north to end of Konkan coastal strip in the south. The Konkan and Desh were main physical divisions. Geography lays the basic foundation of socio – economic and political life of human being. The topography of Maharashtra includes the coastal strip known as Konkan, the Sahyadri, and Plateau region known as *Desh* or *Ghat Matha*. The area of Sahyadri is hilly rocky and surrounded by dense forest. This brings heavy rain in the Konkan region. The *Ghat* merged with plateau forming high hill top on which there are impregnable forts.

The geographical condition of Maharashtra contributed to the rise of the Marathas. The ranges of Sahyadri have forts and the one who controls the forts naturally becomes the ruler of the entire land. These forts would provide ample protection to kingdom. Shivaji realized this and hence started his career with capturing forts.

The land of Maharashtra, particularly the *Maval* region is not very fertile, leading to frequent famines in this region. Scarcity of natural resources made the land and people isolated from rest of the country. Every body had to work hard to earn his livelihood. This made them strong and sturdy. The sturdy Mavalas in the region were agile, they had few needs, and were capable of quick movements. Shivaji used these qualities of his people in perfecting the guerrilla system of warfare. They readily responded to the call of Shivaji.

Origin of Marathas

Varahamihira, a famous, astronomer of the sixth century uses the word Maharashtra, which later came to be corrupted into Mahratta or Maratha. "Maharashtra, as its plain meaning shows, is a great *Rashtra* or nation formed by a race of men who in ancient times were probably known as *Ratthas*, some of whom came to be styled Maharashtra as great *Ratthas*. The land which they occupied also came to be called after them, i.e. the country of great men." Their language was first known as Maharashtri a *Prakrit* dialect. Its later derivative is Marathi. The land between the Narmada and the upper Krishna practically formed the main

Maharashtra region in which Marathi is spoken and which is linguistically and geographically one homogeneous block.

People of this land were known in early ages as Ratthas, Maharashtra of Rashtrakutas who had earned great distinction for wealth, valour and political power. During ancient period Maharashtra was ruled by great dynasties such as Mauryas, the Satvahanas, the Bhojas, the Chalukyas, the Kadambas, the Shilaharas and the Yadavas.

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2.3 POLITICAL CONDITIONS :-

The establishment of Maratha *Swaraj* in the first half of 17th Century was a great historical event in India. Every great historical event has a background of inter-related factors. The political background of rise of Marathas can be traced from first Muslim invasion of the Deccan by Alauddin Khilji in 1294.

2.3.1 Alauddin Khilji's conquest of Devgiri - 1294

During the 13th century the Turkish Sultans of Delhi consolidated their power over Northern India, they then extended their control over Deccan and South India. Alauddin Khilji's invasion of Devgiri (Capital of Yadavas) in 1294 A.D. was the first Muslim invasion in the south. Between 1296 and 1316 three great armies led by the famous general Malik Kafur conquered greater part of Maharashtra and South India which remained under the rule of Delhi till 1347.

2.3.2 Foundation of Vijayanagar and Bahamani Kingdom

During the rule of Muhammad – Bin – Tughlaq Vijayanagar Empire was founded to the south of Tungbhadra river in 1336 by two brothers Harihar and Bukka. In 1347 the Bahamani Kingdom was established in Deccan. The Bahamani Sultans and Vijay Nagar rulers carried on continuous warfare. By the year 1526 the Bahamani. Kingdom was split into 5 independent Kingdoms, Imadshahi of Berar (1484), Adil Shahi of Bijapur (1489), Nizamshahi of Ahmednagar (1498), Qutbshahi of Golkonda (1518) and finally Baridshahi of Berar (1526). Out of these five independent kingdoms only three i.e. Bijapur, Golkonda and Ahmednagar existed when the Marathas began to emerge from their subjugation.

2.3.3 The Portuguese

The Portuguese were the first Europeans to settle in India. In 1510 they captured Goa from Adilshah. They also acquired bases in Diu, Daman, Bombay, Sashti and Bassein. The expansionist policy brought them into conflict with local powers like Adilshah, Mughals and later Marathas.

2.3.4 Siddis of Janjira

Another foreign power on the western coast of Maharashtra was Siddis. They were the original inhabitants of Abyssinia in Africa. They were a naval power and hence controlled the coastal area of Konkan. The Siddis were in service of Nizamshah but later had joined Adilshah on the

condition they will be given some of his territory. They also promised to protect trade of Adilshah, they made the fort of Janjira was their stronghold. Siddis proved to be a major hurdle in Shivaji's conquest of Konkan.

2.3.5 Battle of Talikota 1565

The period between the establishment of five separate kingdoms in the Deccan and rise of Maratha State witnessed constant internal struggle between them. Similarly, war was going on with their neighbours like Portuguese, the Mughals, and the Vijayanagar Empire. In 1565 the Sultans of Bijapur, Ahmednagar, Golkonda and Bidar came together in an alliance to defeat Vijayanagar in the battle of Talikot on 22nd January 1565. The downfall of Vijayanagar was followed by anarchy and misrule in the Deccan. Thus, the Hindu resistance to Muslim domination carried on by Vijayanagar kings collapsed. The period of Muslim domination began in the history of south India.

2.3.6 The Mughals

After the death of Mughal emperor Akbar in 1605, his son Jahangir continued the aggressive policy at Deccan. Mughal conflict against Chandbibi of Ahmednagar is one of the major episodes in Medieval Indian History. After her death her officer Malik Amber continued war against Mughals with the help of Bijapur and local Maratha Sardars.

In 1627 Shahjahan succeeded Jahangir. The rift between Shahjahan and Khan Jahan Lodi, the Mughal Governor of Deccan, led to a war between the two. After the death of Khan Jahan Lodi, Shahjahan dealt severely with the Nizamshahi and Adilshahi kingdoms. Maratha Sardars like Lakhuji Jadhav and Shahaji Bhonsale played major roles in Nizamshahi and later Adilshahi kingdoms.

2.3.7 Marathas in the service of the Bahamani kingdoms:

The founders of Bahamani Kingdom being foreigners were strangers and hence employed local men in their services. Their knowledge and experience were used in lower branches of administration. The village organizations remained unchanged. The *Patils*, *Deshmukhs*, *Deshpandes* retained their dominant role in rural politics. At the beginning 17th century several Maratha families like Bhonsales of Verul, Jadhav of Sindhkhed, Ghorpades of Mudhol, More of Jawali, Nimbalkars of Phaltan became prominent. These Sardars were brave but sworn enemies of each other. Neither national sentiment, nor unity of language and religion prevented them from fighting with each other.

2.3.8 Malik Amber

Emperor Jahangir continued Akbar's policy of expansion in the Deccan. Chandbibi and Malik Amber defended Ahmednagar, but it was captured by Mughals by 1600. Khandesh was annexed in 1601 which almost ended the Nizamshahi kingdom. Malik Amber, an Abyssinian general, tried his

best to protect the Nizamshahi kingdom, but his efforts were of no avail. Murtaza Nizamshah II became the king and his capital was to Daulatabad. Malik Amber, being an administrator introduced a series of revenue and military reforms. This was the period when Shahaji Bhonsale came in to prominence. He assisted Malik Amber against Shahnawaz Khan, the Mughal Commander in battle of Roshangaon in 1616 but they were defeated.

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2.3.9 Rise of Bhonsales

Babaji Bhonsle, first known person of Bhonsale family was a *Patil* of Hingani Beradi and Diwalgaon in Pune District (Patas subdivision). His sons Maloji and Vithoji migrated to the Village of Verul at the foot of the Daulatabad hills. The two brothers met Jadhav Rao of Sindhkhed, who enrolled them as soldiers (*bargirs*). In the course of time, they raised their own troops of about 1000 men and became influential in the Nizamshahi kingdom.

2.3.10 Shahaji Bhonsale

Shahaji's name first occurs in recorded history in 1628. By the beginning of 17th Century Deccan was undergoing continuous conflict between Nizamshah of Ahmednagar and Adilshah of Bijapur. Similarly, Mughals under the leadership of Shahjahan started their Deccan campaign. Malik Amber, Vazir of Ahmednagar was prepared to meet Mughal forces. On the other hand, Mughals made alliance with Bijapur and their combined armies attacked Ahmednagar and threatened its existence. On 31st October 1624 Malik Amber made a valiant effort to oppose the combined armies of Mughal and Bijapur at Bhatwadi and defeated them. Shahaji Bhonsale with his bravery shared the credit of victory.

After the battle of Bathwadi Shahaji rose to prominence and started playing leading role in the Nizamshahi and Deccan politics. His prestige in the Ahmednagar court increased tremendously. Malik Amber became jealous of Shahaji. The Court intrigues made Shahaji to switch over to Bijapur service, where he was welcomed with the post of Sarlashkar with the jagir of Pune and Supa areas. Malik Amber died in 1626, he was succeeded by his son Fateh Khan. Ibrahim Adilshah also died in the year 1627 and hence Shahaji once again joined Nizamshahi in 1628. Lakhaji Jadhav was tired of serving the Mughals, he also joined Nizamshahi but was murdered for having deserted the Mughals. An upset Shahaji was forced to join the Mughals who awarded him the *Panch – hazari mansabdari* in the year 1630.

The conditions of Mughal Darbar forced Shahaji to rejoin Ahmednagar, where he fought against the Mughals till 1636. Emperor Shahjahan himself had camped in Deccan from 1631-36 and brought the end of Nizamshahi in 1636.

Shahaji then rejoined Adilshahi where he served till the end of his life in 1664. His Karnatak campaigns began in 1637 with Ranadulla Khan and also Afzal Khan. Bangalore, Madurai, Kaveripattanam, Srirangapattam and Vellore was brought under Adilshahi kingdom. His success brought both name and fame to Shahaji along with the Jagir of Bangalore.

Check your progress

1. Give detailed account of political condition in Deccan during the seventeenth century.

2.4 SOCIAL CONDITIONS:-

The 17th Century society of Maharashtra was a caste – conscious hierarchical society, *Brahmins* were at the top of the structure, the *Kshatriyas*, the peasants and various professional classes were below them. Brahmins lost their importance because of the Muslim invasion, the *Kshatriya* also had lost their status and confidence as they failed to defeat the foreign invaders. The *Vaishyas* or merchant class having lost their traditional position because of the Muslim rule had to earn their living by agriculture. Thus, the social order of Hindu society had lost their vitality. It was for this reason that the Hindus in the Deccan had to seek employment in the army and revenue departments of the Muslim rulers.

2.4.1 Social equality.

J.N. Sarkar, in his “*Shivaji and His Times*” has made some observations regarding the social conditions in Maharashtra. According to him “Social distinctions were fewer and much less sharp in the 17th Century Maharashtra. The rich were not immeasurably above the poor. In this simple society, even the poorest man had his values. At least, he preserved his self respect because very few had anything to spare. Poverty had prevented women in Maharashtra from the purdah and other forms of seclusion. Women played an important part in society and public life.

The sense of equality was promoted by the religion though the *Brahmins* tried to maintain their monopoly, strong religious movement aroused and swept through the length and the breadth of the land. “The *Bhagwat Dharma*” taught brotherhood: good contacts, unity of God and personal devotion. Their chief centre was Pandharpur. The religious revival of in Maharashtra was regarded the work of masses and not classes. A number of poets, philosophers emerged especially from the lower classes of the society. “The fairs held at places of pilgrimage on holy days promoted a sense of Hindu unity”. Such social conditions enabled Shivaji to build up the Maratha nation without much difficulty.

2.4.2 Land rights and social status

The society of far south and also of Maharashtra was basically a rural society hence land rights were considered very important. The highest ambition of the Maratha family was to possess a piece of land or a hereditary office like *Desai*, *Deshpande* and *Patil*. The service in the

army was the most desired means of livelihood, the family estate “*Watan*” although it might be a small village was very sacred in the eyes of Marathas. They were ready to make any sacrifice for their “*Watan*”. However, with each generation the *Watan* has to be sub-divided among brothers and thus new means of livelihood and material progress had to be sought, especially by the younger generation.

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J.N. Sarkar has described the condition of the Poona district before the rise of Shivaji “There were constant fighting among the watandars and the peasantry was robbed. The civil administration had collapsed, no justice could be attained, what was true of Poona district was more or less true of the whole of Deccan.

2.4.3 Village Community

The structure of the village and village community remained unchanged over the centuries. The Village community was divided into the cultivating class and twelve balutedars, i.e. potter, carpenter, goldsmith etc. All civil and criminal cases were heard and decided by the Gotsabha which consisted of senior and important men in the village. Since the administration of village was carried out by Watandars like Deshmukh, Deshpande and Kulkarni, there was hardly any contact between the rulers and the ruled. Thus, the social life remained unchanged. The Muslims influence was confined to the capital and the surrounding areas. Civil offices and military centre where the Turks, Abyssinians, Pathans, Persians and few Mughals, also the Indian converts enjoyed a slightly higher status in the society.

Position of women

The position of the women and untouchables in Maharashtra was not different from the rest of India. They were not aware of their rights and were denied any privileges. Foreign invasion restricted their freedom in the society. The women of the nobility and high classes led a secluded life although there were outstanding examples of women who influenced Deccan politics in seventeenth century.

2.5 ECONOMIC CONDITIONS :-

The economic condition of Bahamani kingdoms and the Hindu empire of Vijayanagar was quite impressive. The accounts of foreign travellers speak of the splendor and glory of the courts of Bahamani Sultanates and Vijayanagar. They give a very flattering picture of wealth. Abdur Razaq described the Kingdom of Vijayanagar as an extremely large and thickly populated region. Barboza, Portuguese traveller noted that wheat, rice, millet besides muslin, calico was produced in the Bahamani Kingdoms were exported through the port of Chaul.

2.5.1 Land holding

After the fall of Vijayanagar and the division of the Bahamani kingdom trade was hampered. Number of people engaged in trade and commerce

was not large. The majority of the population lived on agriculture; in the early 17th Century ownership of land was considered precious. Too much importance was attached to land, not only as a source of income but also as a symbol of social prestige. Even the priests and merchants struggle to possess a small plot of land which they themselves could cultivate or rent it to their tenants. Tenancy cultivation was common. There was also a class of landless laborers living in very miserable condition.

2.5.2 Famine 1630-32

In early 17th Century there was a severe famine in the Deccan, it practically desolated the Deccan and Gujarat. The monsoon failed for two successive years and no crops could be cultivated. The invasion of the Deccan by Shahjahan coincided with the famine and added to the miseries of the people.

Abdul Hamid records, “Life was offered for loaf but none could buy. Rank was to be sold for cake but none cared for it”. As the viceroy of the Deccan for 8 years Aurangzeb utilized the services of very competent revenue administrators Murshid Quli Khan. Loans were given to peasants to encourage production. Some measures were taken to see that the people who had deserted the villages return to their fields. It is said that Murshid Quli Khan’s work was a bright spot in the otherwise dark economic chaos in the Deccan during early 17th Century. Those who had the capability of forming small band of soldiers tried to seek employment with the Nizam Shah or Adil Shah.

Check your progress

2. Describe socio-economic conditions that favoured the rise of Marathas.

2.6 CULTURAL CONDITIONS:-

The socio-religious and cultural environment was not so smooth, rise of *Bhakti* movement led to downfall of *Brahmin* domination and beginning of new socio-cultural change. The saint poets of this time taught the new idea of “*Bhakti*” i.e. devotion to god as a way of attaining salvation. In Maharashtra saint poet like Dnyaneshwar, Namdeo, Eknath, Tukaram, Ramdas and many others propagated *Bhakti* and the language of commoners i.e. Marathi.

Dnyaneshwar is considered to be the propagator of *Bhakti* and founder of *Warkari* sect. He wrote a *Dnyaneshwari* a commentary on Bhagwat Gita in Prakrit or the commoners’ language. The *advait* philosophy was propagated to replace ritualism and orthodoxy. Dnyaneshwar questioned idolatry, caste system, superstition and blind faith. He emphasized that the path of salvation is *Bhakti* i.e. devotion to God.

Namdeo was another saint of fourteenth century who popularized the *Bhagwat Sampradaya* through his *abhangas* written in simple language for common man. He popularized worship of God Vithoba and started pilgrimages to Pandharpur.

Eknath in sixteenth century and Tukaram and Ramdas in the seventeenth century created socio-cultural awakening in Maharashtra. There were several other saints who hailed from lower castes of Hindu society popularized Bhakti Cult among common masses which strengthen the foundation of *Hindavi swaraj* later founded by *Chhatrapati Shivaji*.

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2.7 INTRODUCTION TO THE CONCEPT MAHARASHTRA DHAMRAMA

“Like the Protestant Reformation in Europe in the 16th century, there was a religious, social, and literary revival and Reformation in India, but notably in the Deccan in the 15th and 16th centuries. This religious revival was not Brahmanical in its orthodoxy. It was heterodox in its spirit of protest against forms and ceremonies and class distinctions based on birth, and ethical in its preference of a pure heart, and of the law of love, to all other acquired merits and good works. This religious revival was the work also of the people, of the masses, and not of the classes. At its head were saints and prophets, poets and philosophers, who sprang chiefly from the lower orders of society, tailors, carpenters, potters, gardeners, shopkeepers, barbers, and even untouchables more often than Brahmans. The names of Tukaram (born about 1568), of Ramdas (b.1608), of Vaman Pandit (b.1636), and of Eknath (b.1528) still retain their ascendancy over the minds of the people of Maharashtra.”

2.8 MEANING OF MAHARASHTRA DHARMA

One of the subjects of great historical importance in which, many eminent scholars have concentrated their attention is Maharashtra Dharma. This has five points:

1. Conception of *Swaraj*
2. Object in striving for it
3. Principles for which they stood
4. The unifying force which heartened them in time of trouble and adversity
5. What enabled them to work for their national upliftment and succeeded for nearly two hundred years.

Check Your Progress

- 1) Explain the meaning of Maharashtra Dharma.

Historical Background

It was Justice Ranade in his brilliant work “Rise of the Maratha Power” first described the process of nation building in the Deccan and laid down that it was *Maharashtra Dharma* which was their guiding principle. The expression of *Maharashtra Dharma* is known to be used for the first time

by the author of a popular Marathi work *Gurucharirta* composed some where in the middle of 15th century. The saints of Maharashtra had spoken about the concept of *Maharashtra Dharma* for many years previously. In other words, what the saints of Maharashtra did was to create a moral force that would exalt and enable to share political ideals of the Maharashtra. In other words, there were two main factors that made up this nationwide movement.

1. Representing the political power yielded by the more or less independent jagirdars.
2. The moral force which the people devised from the preaching of Ramdas and other great saints

Shivaji stands here as a synthesis of these two factors being a son of a great Maratha noble, he possessed power and influence, he was also familiar with the teaching of the saints. Inspired by their ideals he strove to realize them in his life and in doing so he was prepared to risk jointly his power and position.

Check Your Progress

- 1) What is the historical background of Maharashtra Dharma?

2.9 PRINCIPLES OF MAHARASHTRA DHARMA:

The underlined principles of Maharashtra Dharma are divided into four elements:

1. Practice towards the gods and injunctions of Shastras known as *Devshastra Achara*.
2. Local practices known as *Deshachar*
3. Family practices known as *Kulachar*
4. Caste practices known as *Jatiachar*

The inhabitants of Maharashtra were bound to follow all these things. The only strong motive to move the masses of this land was an appeal to religious faith during the 300 years proceeding of Shivaji. The whole of India was moved by the new contact with the militant creed and there has been action and reaction particularly in Maharashtra.

2.10 IMPACT OF MAHARASHTRA DHARMA ON MARATHA HISTORY:

A great movement like this was the basic factor in the rise of the slumbering Maratha nation in the annals of our history. In the movement of *Maharashtra Dharma*, we find certain stages of the way of thinking under the leadership of various saints. It was Dnyaneshwar who wrote the *Dnyaneshwari*, a commentary in Marathi on the *Bhagwat Geeta*. Tukaram with his soul stirring *Abhangas* and Ramdas with his philosophy of action

were the two preachers of *Maharashtra Dharma*. They were the pillars of the faith, inspirers of society and revivalist of *Swadharma*. They were the builders of the emotional and psychological foundation of *Swaraj*.

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Check Your Progress

1) Briefly examine the principles and impact of Maharashtra Dharma.

2.11 CONTRIBUTION OF THE SAINTS TO MARATHA SWARAJ:

If we classify the great mystics of Maharashtra according to their mysticism they fall into the following groups:

- Dnyaneshwar was an intellectual
- Namdev ensured the claims of a godly and spiritual life.
- Tukaram's mysticism of a personal nature while
- Ramdas emphasized action.

The combined teaching of these saints led to the proclamation of *Swaraj*. The theoretical basis was given a political approach by Ramdas. He was one of the saint poets of the seventeenth century whose teaching inspired the people to fight for their independence. His valuable advice to the Marathas was regarding the duty to "unite every Maratha and increase our *Maharashtra Dharma*". This was the political connotation of the '*Maharashtra Dharma*'. He states that the leader should spread the rule of Marathas. There is a difference of opinion regarding Ramdas Swami's use of the term *Maharashtra Dharma*. According to Rajwade, protection of Hindu *Dharma*, establishment of *Swarajya*, unity and leadership were the features of *Maharashtra Dharma*. He regarded it as political concept. He is of the opinion that *Maharashtra Dharma* meant the establishment of *Swarajya*. On the other hand, M. G. Ranade stated that monotheism, devotion, and denouncing ritualism were the important aspects of *Maharashtra Dharma*. Establishment of *Swarajya* was culmination of the religious movement in Maharashtra. However, it has generally been accepted that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there were two kinds of movements in Maharashtra. Firstly, the various Maratha *Jagirdars* were practically independent since ages. Secondly, the intellectual and religious ferment begun by the warkaris. Shivaji brought these two movements together. The term Maharashtra Dharma came to connote both these movements.

Check Your Progress

1) Examine the role of Ramdas in propagating Maharashtra Dharma.

2.12 SUMMARY:-

Political, social, economic and cultural conditions of Deccan in sixteenth century created the necessary background for the emergence of the Maharashtra as political power, Grant Duff in his work "*The History of Marathas*" has compared the rise of Maratha Power to a sudden

conflagration in the forest of Sahyadri. M.G. Ranade in *Rise of the Maratha Power* has refuted Grant Duff's contention and explained the condition that has prepared the ground for rise of new political power in Maharashtra. G.S. Sardesai and V.K. Rajwade and other scholars did the Himalayan task to bring this miraculous chapter of Indian History into light so the world can learn about the one of the gems of not only Indian history but the history of world.

2.13 QUESTIONS :-

1. Describe the political and social conditions of Maharashtra during the early 17th Century.
2. Describe the political, social and cultural conditions of Deccan before the rise of the Marathas.
3. Review the Geographical, Political and cultural conditions of Deccan in the early 17th Century.
4. Discuss the socio- political and economic conditions of the early 17th Century Deccan.
5. State how the political chaos and the work of saints were responsible for the rise of Marathas in the early seventeenth century.
6. Write a short note on Maharashtra Dharma.

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ESTABLISHMENT OF SWARAJYA: EARLY LIFE AND CONQUESTS OF SHIVAJI AND HIS RELATIONS WITH BIJAPUR

Unit Structure

- 3.0 Objectives
- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Early life of Shivaji
- 3.3 Shivaji's early conquests
- 3.4 Conquest of Javali
- 3.5 Conquest of Konkan
- 3.6 Afzal Khan Episode
- 3.7 Shivaji and Siddi Jauhar
- 3.8 Struggle with Bijapur renewed in 1672
- 3.9 Summary
- 3.10 Questions
- 3.11 References

3.0 OBJECTIVES :

1. To study the rise of Maratha power under the able leadership of Shivaji.
 2. To understand leadership qualities, devotion, bravery and intelligence of Shivaji.
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3.1 INTRODUCTION:

Shivaji challenged Bijapur and Mughal and chalked out a new path, a path to freedom, a path to a life of self-respect, a life richer and fuller than what the Marathas had ever known. The entire State created by Shivaji was carved the Swarajya out of the state of Bijapur. Shivaji's early aim seems to have been to take complete possession of his jagirs, strengthen them by acquiring forts and embark on an expansion of his

territory by capturing Javali. He pushed his conquests towards Panhala on the *Ghats* and towards Goa in the west coast.

3.2 EARLY LIFE OF SHIVAJI:

Shivaji was born in 1630. He was son of Shahaji and Jijabai. There is a controversy regarding the exact date of Shivaji's birth. Historians have studied the sources, but not have been able to find out the accurate date. Contemporary sources like 91 *Kalmi Bakhar*, *Chitnis Bakhar*, *Shivdigvijay*, and *Shree Shiv Pratap* which cites 1627 as the year of Shivaji's birth. Historian V. K. Rajwade, G.S. Sardesai and Sir Jadunath Sarkar believed 10th April 1627 as Shivaji's birth date. But the historians like T.S. Shejwalkar, V.S. Bendre, D.V. Kale, Y.D. Apte and Mahamahopadhyay Poddar accept 19th Feb. 1630, *Phalgun Vadya Trutiya*, Shake 1551 as the birth date of Shivaji. He was born at Shivneri fort near Junnar in Pune district.

At the time of Shivaji's birth, Shahaji was serving the Nizam shahi, which came to end by 1638. He then joined the Mughals. He also married Tukabai from Mohite family shortly after the birth of Shivaji. He spent many years in Karnatak, where she accompanied him. They had one son named Vyankoji. After the end of Nizamshahi, Shahaji joined Adilshahi and received Pune, Supa, Indapur and Chakan as *Jagir*. Shahaji appointed his trusted officer Dadoji Konddev as a care taker of his *Jagir* and family before leaving for Karnatak. The early life of Shivaji began in the custody of Dadoji Konddev, who made arrangements for Shivaji's education at Pune. Dadoji established administrative offices in Pune and developed it as a city.

3.2.1: Influence of Jijabai:

Jijabai had profound influence on the shaping of Shivaji's personality. She was a proud and spirited lady. She had developed a great hatred for Muslim invaders who made her people slave, destroyed the temples of her gods and humiliated Hindu women. Even her father and elder son were killed treacherously by the Muslim invaders. She developed an intense desire of liberating her mother land from the Muslim rule, so she inspired Shivaji to rise against the Muslim encroachment on Maharashtra. Stories of heroes of Ramayana and Mahabharata told by Jijabai deeply impressed Shivaji's young mind. In the words of Ranade "If ever great men owed their greatness to the inspiration of their mothers, the influence of Jijabai was a factor of prime importance in the making of Shivaji's career and the chief source of his strength."

3.2.2: Personality of Dadoji Konddev:

Dadoji Konddev, a *Kulkarni* of Malthan, was entrusted by Shahaji with responsibility of protecting Shivaji and Jijabai and also of taking care of his *jagir*. He was an able administrator who initiated young Shivaji the art of civil administration. he also looked after Shivaji's

academic education and physical training. Shivaji thus came to possess a sound mind in a sound body.

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3.3 SHIVAJI'S EARLY CONQUESTS:

Shivaji's career of conquests started with capture of Adilshahi forts around Pune. He captured Rohida and Torna in 1646 and Rajgad and Purandar in 1648. He also brought an effective control over most of his Jagirs spread around Pune. At this time, Adilshah and Mughals controlled the remaining area of the Maratha country. The question before Shivaji was whether he should proceed towards north against Mughals or to carve out an independent kingdom from the Bijapuri territory. As the Mughals were too powerful, Shivaji decided to attack on the regions governed by Bijapur. The valleys of Sahyadri were known as Maval. They were governed by *Deshmukhs*. There were 12 Mavals, 12 around Pune and the surrounding areas. It was Dadoji who have tried to administer this area with the help of local officers. Shivaji, with the help of his followers like Yesaji Kank, Tanaji and Suryaji Malusare, Baji Pasalkar, Balaji Narhekar, Jiva Mahala began his early career of conquest. In the beginning he captured Rohida and Torna and it was believed that he did this when he was only 15 years old. In March 1648, Shivaji captured Kondana and Murumbdev later named as Rajgad. This small beginning was interrupted by the arrest of Shahaji near Jinji on 25th July 1648 by court of Bijapur. To secure the release of his father, Shivaji gave up Kondana to Bijapuri officer and promised not to carry on any further conquests. Shahaji was released on 16th May 1649. After the release of his father, Shivaji decided to look into administrative reforms of his Jagir and not to carry on any campaign. By 1652, Shivaji restored his rule over the area between the river Bhima and Nira, the area between Pune and Shirval, thus the small Maratha kingdom has taken a shape. For seven years after the death of Dadoji, Shivaji concentrated his energy in organizing his kingdom and making his rule acceptable to all. In 1655, Shivaji once again undertook rapid expansion of his area which was to be built on a steady foundation. Most of the *Deshmukhs* in Maval willingly accepted his leadership, however few were reluctant to do so, Mores of Javali were one of them.

3.4 CONQUEST OF JAVALI 1656:

Shivaji decided to lay his hand on the state of Javali. He felt that he has nothing to fear from Bijapur because it is already been threatened by Aurangzeb, the Mughal governor of Deccan. Javali occupied strategic importance because within the range of 60 miles from Javali, as many as 8 passes cross the Sahyadri range- two of them open at Mahad and Chiplun in Ratnagiri District. It is also covered with dense forest. The Mores of Javali were *Deshmukh* of that area for a long period. They enjoyed hereditary title of 'Chandrarao'. They were allied by family ties to most of the other *Maval Deshmukhs* and refused to join Shivaji. Thus, it was a first necessity for Shivaji to disarm hostile Mores.

The friction between Shivaji and Mores started as early as 1648, Daulatrao, a man of prestige, died living no heir. With Shivaji's help. Daulatrao's widow adopted Yashwantrao, a young man and conducted affairs with the help of Hanumantrao More, a distant relation of the family.

The triangular contest between the More, Shivaji and Afzal Khan, the Bijapuri governor of Wai, began. In the year 1654, Afzal Khan was transferred to Kanakgiri, Sensing this as an opportunity Shivaji decided to attack Javali. Deshmukhs of Maval, particularly Kanoji Jedhe, Haibatrao Silimkar and others were won over by Shivaji. In the first attempt, Shivaji sent Sambhaji Kavaji which proved ineffectual. So another force under Raghunath Ballal Korde was sent. A battle was fought near Javali in which Hanumantrao More was killed. Yashwantrao escaped from the battlefield and took shelter in the fort of Rairi.

In the third attempt, Shivaji himself proceeded to Javali. After long negotiations, a meeting was arranged at the foot of Rairi. More came down to meet Shivaji. In the course of this meeting, Yashwantrao was killed and Shivaji carried his two sons as captives to Pune. In this long affair, the assassination of Yashwantrao looks like an indelible blot on spotless character of Shivaji. More Bakhar discovered by Parasnis tells the inner history of Shivaji and More relations. The conflict became bitter when Shivaji declared his goal of establishing Swaraj. More, who claimed their ancestry from Chandragupta Maurya was not ready to accept Shivaji's leadership. After all attempts to persuade him through peaceful negotiations failed, Shivaji attacked Javali and captured it. He seized all its wealth and treasure. Fort Wasota which belonged to the More soon fell into his hands. Consequently, twelve Mavals from Junnar to Wai came into Shivaji's possession. Raigad was occupied. Pratapgad was constructed on the adjacent hills.

3.4.1 Consequences of Javali:

Javali incident was an important landmark in the career of Shivaji. By the punishing Chandrarao More Shivaji made it clear to everybody that opposition to Swarajya will not be tolerated henceforth. Shivaji's Victory over the More brought important passes connecting the Desh and Konkan into the Swarajya. The impregnable Desh and Konkan was linked by this route which was important from the point of view of trade as well. Shivaji's Swarajya now extended to the western coast which brought him into contact with European powers like English, Portuguese and Dutch. This is the period when Shivaji, a foresighted leader began to think of having a Navy of his own. The money which he got at Javali helped Shivaji in building important forts like Pratapgad. Thus, Javali incident brought Shivaji in lime light.

3.5 CONQUEST OF KONKAN, 1657:

The internal quarrels and disunion in Adilshahi court following there defeat at the hands of Aurangzeb gave an opportunity to

Shivaji to make further conquests at the cost of Bijapuri territories. In 1657 Shivaji advanced into Konkan. The northern part of Konkan was governed by Mullah Ahmad. Taking advantage of his absence, Shivaji captured Kalyan and Bhiwandi and also annexed the fort of Mahuli on 8th January, 1658. After setting up his own administration in this area he turned to Kolaba district. Thus, northern Konkan became a part of Swarajya. He also captured Rohida and Supa. This was the beginning of Shivaji's career.

Check your progress:

1. Describe the nature of early conquests of Shivaji.

3.6 AFZAL KHAN EPISODE

Activities of Shivaji made Adilshahi durbar furious which decided to punish him. King Mohammad Adilshah of Bijapur died in 1656. His minor son Ali Adilshah was put on the throne and the widowed queen Begum Badisaheba became the regent. Between 1658 and 1659 there raged a war of succession in the Mughal court at Delhi which offered a great chance to the Adilshahi government to deal with Shivaji in any way it liked. Shahaji was asked to control Shivaji but he expressed his inability to do so pleading that he was not responsible for this son's activities and Adilshah can deal with him in any way he liked. Thus, Afzal Khan was entrusted with the task of subjugating Shivaji and bringing him back, dead or alive. Accordingly, he started making the necessary preparations by 1659.

As early as in April 1659 the Adilshahi government had ordered the *Deshmukhs* of Maval to join Afzal Khan with their forces. At the end of the monsoon Afzal Khan set out of Bijapur with an army of 10,000 soldiers. On his way he plundered the holy Hindu temples at Pandharpur, Tuljapur and Jejuri. His wanton destruction made the Maratha all the more determined to protect their young *Swaraj*.

Marching towards Wai, the seat of his *subhedari*, Afzal Khan seized chief of Phaltan, Bajaji Naik-Nimbalkar and extorted from him fine of 1 ½ lakh of Rupees and decided to attack Shivaji in his home of Pune. Shivaji, realizing the danger quickly shifted to Pratapgad near to Javali. This forced Afzal Khan to change his plan of attacking Pune. He decided to camp at Wai with which area he was very much familiar. He decided to use diplomacy to catch Shivaji in trap. After the meeting with Krishnaji Bhaskar Kulkarni, envoy of Afzal Khan, Shivaji decided to fight in self-defense. He sent Pantoji Gopinath to Afzal Khan to decide details of the proposed meeting. It was settled that two chiefs should meet in a grand tent pitched below the fort of Pratapgad leaving their troops behind and then exchange the oath of submission and protection. A grand tent was erected at the meeting place with richly decorated canopy with gorgeous carpet and cushions worthy of guest, precious stones, Pearls were used to decorate the tent.

10th November, Thursday 1659 was the date fixed for the meeting. On that day, Shivaji started preparing himself for the meeting. Under his tunic he wore the coat of armour. Below his turban he placed a steel cap; in his left hand he had a set of steel claws (*Waghnakh*) and up his right sleeve was a thin sharp dagger called *bichawa*. At the decided time Shivaji came to meet Afzal Khan with two of his trusted men, Jiva Mahala and Sambhaji Kavji. Similarly, Sayyad Banda and Krishnaji Bhaskar accompanied Afzal Khan. In the course of customary greeting Afzal Khan embraced Shivaji and attempted to stab him with a dagger. The ever-alert Shivaji was on his guard. Sensing the danger he quickly tore the bowels of Afzal Khan with a blow of the tiger's claws and drove the bichawa in Afzal's sides. Sambhaji Kavaji cut off Afzal Khan's head. As per the previous arrangement, signal was given to soldiers posted in ambush at intervals. Under the leadership of Moropant Pingle and Netaji Palkar, Marathas attacked Khan's unguarded army and decisively defeated it. A large amount of booty fell into their hands. Soon thereafter Chandgad, Vasantgad, Panhalgad and Rangnagad were captured by Shivaji.

Check your progress:

2. Write a short note on Afzal Khan Episode.

3.7 SHIVAJI AND SIDDI JAUHAR:

Shivaji was perfectly aware that the death of Afzal Khan was only the beginning of a long struggle against Bijapur. His assumption turned true when Adilshah sent Siddi Jauhar with cavalry of 20,000 and 35000 infantry and heavy ammunitions. Siddi Jauhar, viceroy of province of Karnul, swept away the Maratha resistance in open and Shivaji was forced to fall back to Panhala in March 1660. Siddi besieged Panhala and continued the siege for five months. Shaista Khan, Mughal governor at Deccan had arrived at Poona in March 1660 and started plundering Poona and other areas of northern region of *Swaraj*. Finding himself in great difficulty Shivaji opened negotiations with the Siddi.

Taking advantage of relaxed vigilance on 13th July 1660, Shivaji, in the darkness of night and heavy rains escaped from Panhala, took the road to Vishalgad, 27 miles to the west accompanied by the small party led by Baji Prabhu Deshpande.

Siddi dispatched a strong force under Fazal Khan and Siddi Halal in hot pursuit when informed about escape of Shivaji. At the critical moment, Baji Prabhu offered strong resistance to the Bijapuri forces at a narrow pass called 'Ghodkhind' till Shivaji reached Vishalgad and signalled his safe arrival there by gunfire. After five hours, the signal of gunfire was heard and wounded Baji Prabhu cheered his last moments. The faithful servant had carried out his task at the cost of his life. Shivaji's dramatic escape from Panhala fort once again foiled the Bijapuri plans of capturing him. On 22nd September 1660 Shivaji gave up the fort of Panhala to the

Adilshah and concluded peace treaty with him so as to gain time to attend to the Mughal onslaught conducted by Shaista Khan.

Aurangzeb sent campaign after campaign to subdue Shivaji and simultaneously against Bijapur. After the treaty of Purandar, Shivaji had to accompany Jai Singh against Bijapur and on their behalf attacked Panhala which was in the hands of Adilshah that time. Since the garrison of Sharza Khan and Khawas Khan offered stiff resistance, Marathas had to withdraw. Thus, being the part of Mughal campaign at the Deccan Shivaji had to fight Bijapur army.

3.8 STRUGGLE WITH BIJAPUR RENEWED IN 1672:

After a long interval, Marathas, under the vigorous leadership of Shivaji, began to raid Adilshahi territories of Deccan. His successful campaigns against Mughal raised his confidence and hence he decided to deal firmly with Bijapur. In 1672, Rustam Zaman rebelled against Adilshah to secure his Jagirs and the post of viceroy of Canara. The revolt lasted for one year, Ali Adil Shah, the sultan of Bijapur, died in 1672 adding to confusion and chaos in the state of Bijapur.

Shivaji was quick to grab the opportunity and attacked Panhala in 1673. Within few months, Parali, Satara, Hubli and Balaghat were also brought under his control. Bijapuri forces led by Bahlol Khan offered stiff resistance. Battle of Umrani (36 miles west of Bijapur city) was fought between Prataprao Gujar and Bahlol Khan in 1673 in which Prataprao spared Bahlol Khan at his request. Shivaji sharply censured his general for showing leniency to Bahlol. This made Prataprao to seek an opportunity to crush Bahlol forever. On 24th Feb. 1674, Prataprao, along with seven horsemen, attacked Bahlol's camp in desperate state of mind. All seven horsemen were killed by the enemy forces at Nesari near Kolhapur.

After death of Prataprao Gujar, Hambirrao Mohite became the commander of Maratha forces. The battle against Bijapur continued. Marathas continued with guerilla tactics which tired Bijapur government and gave up hostilities against Shivaji. Similarly, Mughals had opened fresh campaigns against the leadership of Diler Khan against Bijapur and hence Bijapur had to make peace with Shivaji to save its domain. Shivaji helped Bijapur greatly during the Mughal invasion of 1679.

3.9 SUMMARY:

As Maratha Swaraj was carved out of Bijapur territories, the conflict with Bijapur was inevitable. The means adopted by Shivaji to defeat powerful commanders like Afzal Kahan, Siddi Jauhar display mental and moral qualities, judgement, resolution, courage, talent for executing surprises and high moral purpose that constitute military genius.

3.10 QUESTIONS :

1. Discuss the significance of Javali episode in the life of Shivaji?
2. Review the Maratha-Bijapur relations with special reference to Javali incident.
3. Give account of Shivaji's relations with Bijapur with special reference to Afzal Khan episode.
4. Review Maratha-Bijapur Relationship from 1648 to 1660.

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ESTABLISHMENT OF SWARAJYA: SHIVAJI AND HIS RELATIONS WITH MUGHALS

Unit Structure

- 4.0 Objective
- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Shivaji's relations with the Mughals till 1660
- 4.3 Shaistakhan Episode
- 4.4 Sack of Surat
- 4.5 Mirza Raja Jaisingh and Shivaji
- 4.6 Shivaji's visit to Agra
- 4.7 Mughal Maratha conflict – 1667-1670
- 4.8 Mughal Maratha conflict 1671 onward
- 4.9 Estimate of Shivaji
- 4.10 Summary
- 4.11 Questions
- 4.12 References

4.0 OBJECTIVE:

1. To learn how Shivaji fought against the Mughals in establishing the Swaraj.
2. To analyse the significance of the importance of Treaty of Purandar.
3. To understand methods and policies used by Shivaji against Mughals.

4.1 INTRODUCTION:

Establishment of *Swaraj* is one of the major events in the history of Deccan. Shivaji had created a small independent kingdom out of the territories of Adil Shah and the Mughals. For which he had to fight various battles with these powers. Nizam Shahi came to an end by 1637, but Adil Shahi was still a strong opponent. The Afzal Khan episode dealt a severe blow to the Adil Shahi kingdom. Mughals was the central power of India.

Aurangzeb wanted to dominate the entire Deccan for which he undertook a series of expeditions. The period after 1661 is known as period of Mughal-Maratha conflict.

Maratha Kingdom was small created out of *jagirs* of Shahaji. 1647 is the beginning of foundation of this small kingdom. During the first phase Shivaji had to fight Adil Shahi sardars to capture various forts in the Sahyadri ranges. Simultaneously he was trying to win the support of the local *Deshmukhs* and other Maratha sardars associated with Adil Shah. He succeeded in his initial efforts and hence he decided to incorporate the Mughal territory into his kingdom. This led to various campaigns and conflicts against Mughals. With the small army, less number of forts, insufficient arms but with lot of zeal and enthusiasm, Shivaji carried out many wonderful campaigns against the Mughal nobles like Shaista Khan and Mirza Raje Jai Singh and many others to protect his new kingdom.

4.2 SHIVAJI'S RELATIONS WITH MUGHALS TILL 1660:

Shivaji shrewdly avoided conflict with the Mughals in the formative years of the *Swarajya*. From 1653 the Deccan was governed by Aurangzeb. In 1656 when Aurangzeb was involved in a war with Golkonda, Shivaji was busy in capturing Javali and the Northern Konkan. When the Mughals invaded Bijapur in 1657, Aurangzeb agreed to recognize Shivaji's right to Bijapuri forts if he assisted the Mughals. Shivaji raided Chamargonda and Raisin under Mughal control. He also raided Junnar and carried away lot of money, precious jewels and horses. His army plundered the Ahmednagar district. This army was stopped by a rapid march of Mughal general Nasir Khan.

Adilshah made peace with Aurangzeb, Shivaji also followed suit as it was futile and ruinous to continue the war with Aurangzeb on his own. Raghunath Pant, Maratha representative was sent to Aurangzeb to secure a letter of pardon for Shivaji. Thereafter Aurangzeb proceeded to Delhi to participate in the war of succession (1658-59). During this period, Shivaji dealt with the Bijapuri forces under Afzal Khan, killed him, defeated his forces and captured additional Bijapuri territories.

4.3 SHAISTAKHAN EPISODE:

Following his success in the war of succession, Aurangzeb sat the Mughal throne and then he appointed his uncle and a great general Shaistakhan as a viceroy of Deccan to suppress Shivaji. Early in January 1660, Shaistakhan opened the campaign against Shivaji leaving Ahmednagar with a vast army of 25,000. Khan marched southwards via Daund and captured Pune. Then he immediately proceeded to capture Shivaji's strongholds. Chakan was the first to be captured in August 1660. Firangoji Narsala, the in charge of Chakan defended the fort for nearly two months but he did not receive any aid from Shivaji who was besieged in the fort of Panhala. He finally he surrendered the fort. Bravery and devotion of

Firangoji impressed Khan who offered him imperial service on high pay, but Firangoji refused but was allowed to go back to his master with his army.

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In 1661, Khan captured the northern part of Konkan from Kalyan to Pen but south Konkan from Danda Rajapuri and Kharepatan still remained with Shivaji. As the open conflict with Shaista Khan was not possible, Shivaji decided upon a surprise attack on him at Poona where the Khan had taken residence, Lal Mahal, which was Shivaji's home.

Shivaji, along with some of the selected brave soldiers and set out from Sinhagad to Pune. He arrived at Pune on night of Sunday 5th April 1663. He and his soldiers spread in the camp of Shaista Khan and arrived near his quarter at midnight. Shivaji, familiar with every nook and corner of Lal Mahal, quickly and quietly entered the house with his 200 men when every one in the Lal Mahal was fast asleep and reached the bedroom of Khan. Maratha soldiers were about to kill him, but at the same time, one of the Khan's wives put off all the lamps. Taking advantage of the darkness, Khan jumped out of window and saved his life. But the stroke of sword cut three fingers of his right hand. The night attack was a complete success. Later Aurangzeb transferred Shahista Khan to Bengal as the viceroy.

4.4 FIRST SACK OF SURAT 1664:

Surat was the richest port on the west coast of India and a gateway to the holy places of Arabia. The port of Surat stood on the southern bank of river Tapi twelve miles from the sea. The city is close to the fort and was very rich at that time. Imperial custom used to yield revenue of about 12 lakh Rs. from Surat every year. Shivaji, along with the contingent of 4,000 men appeared before Surat on 6th January 1664. Shivaji started from Nasik on 1st January and marched through Mahuli, Jawhar and Ramnagar. All the detachments united at Gandevi, 28 miles south of Surat on 5th January. The news of his approach reached Surat like a flash of lightening causing extreme terror and anxiety among the people. Many people left the town with their families for safety.

The governor of the town Inayat Khan had kept no troops for the protection of the town. Shivaji sent letters of warning to the governor and some particular merchants asking for contributions, but no response was given. Shivaji arrived in Surat on Wednesday, 6th January 11 o'clock in the morning with his followers in a garden outside the Burhanpur gate of Surat. The governor in panic ran to the fort for safety. On that day, Shivaji employed his men to collect funds from some of the merchants. On 7th January the Governor sent a young man to Shivaji with an ostensible offer of peace. During the conversation, the young man tried to stab Shivaji with his dagger. A Maratha bodyguard struck off his hand and killed him. During this time, three merchants, Haji Saiyad Beg, Virji Vohra and Haji Kasim had personally come to negotiate with Shivaji. but the attempt on the life of Shivaji's enraged the Marathas. Through out the 8th and 9th January, they plundered the city.

Shivaji also sent message to English factory to give three lakhs or spare the house of Haji Beg, but Henry Oxinden ignored the message. Since Oxinden had taken adequate measures to protect the factory Shivaji chose not to pursue the matter any further. On Saturday, 9th January, Shivaji received news of a Mughal force coming rapidly for the rescue of the town, and hence, next day he left the place as suddenly as he had arrived. He carried gold and silver, pearls and diamonds and the precious stones. Heaps of cloth and household articles that were collected were freely distributed to the town people. The overall booty must be about one crore of Rupees. His main aim in looting Surat was to take revenge on Aurangzeb for attacking his territory in Deccan.

The plunder was carried to Raigad and was utilized in fortifying the capital of his future government. The huge sea fort of Sindhudurg at Malvan was also constructed out of this wealth. The sack of Surat thus was a bold move of Shivaji and a great challenge to the authority of Aurangzeb. The Mughal forces from Khandesh arrived at Surat a week after Shivaji had left it and found that place entirely ruined and devastated.

Check your progress

Write short notes on:

- 1) Shaistakhan episode.
- 2) Sack of Surat.

4.5 MIRZA RAJE JAISINGH AND SHIVAJI:

The failure of Shaista khan and the sack of Surat caused bitter mortification to Aurangzeb and his court. So, he decided to send his able General Mirza Raja Jai Singh and Diler Khan to put down Shivaji. They left Delhi on 9th January 1665 and reached at the court of Muazzam on 10th February at Aurangabad and at Pune on 3rd March 1665.

At Pune Jai Singh planned a strategy against enemies and friends of Mughal power. Adil Shah agreed to help the imperial army. Portuguese of Goa, Siddis of Janjira and also various, Deccani chiefs, Zamindars of Karnatak like Shivappa Naik of Bednur and Zamindar of Basavapatan also agreed to support the Mughals. Raja of Jawhar, Ambaji Govindrao More, Fazal Khan also responded to Jai Singh's invitation. Money and promises of high ranks in Mughal service were largely showered on Shivaji's officers to corrupt their loyalty, but achieved little success.

After this preparation, a vigorous military campaign capturing the forts of Shivaji was pursued by the Mughals. The hill forts Lohgad, Tikona and Chakan were first on the sight. Then Purandar, Kondana and Rajgarh were also listed. Jai Singh made Saswad his base. Thus, Pune was completely blocked by the Mughals. Various Generals with different units of cavalries were sent to establish outposts from Junnar to Lohgarh, to Naldurg, to Shirval, to Poona and Supa and finally at Saswad.

4.5.1 Beginning of campaign:

Jaisingh camped at Saswad and ordered Diler Khan to lay siege to the fort of Purandar. Purandar was not a single fort, but fortified mass of hills, the highest point is 4564 feet high from sea and 2500 feet above the plain. Rudramal (Vajragarh), was another fort which enclosed Purandar. The entire area was spread over four miles square. Without capturing Vajragarh, it was not possible to reach at Purandar. Diler Khan, with his Afghan troops, Hari Bhan and Udaybhan Gaur were entrenched between Purandar and Rudramal. Guns were posted facing to Rudramal and continuous bombarding started. The efforts of Diler Khan's units achieved success when Vajragarh was captured on 13th April 1665 with the loss 80 killed and 109 wounded. After this victory, Jai Singh sent flying columns of 6000 strong men under the leadership of Daud Khan, Raja Rai Singh and Sharza Khan to ravage the country side. This was done to lower the morale of Shivaji and his men. Many villages near Rohida, Rajgarh and Kondana were the victims of this campaign.

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4.5.2 Maratha efforts of defense:

Siege and fall of Vajragarh made Marathas furious and decided to attack from the outside to break the siege. Netaji Palkar made a dash on Parenda but failed. Night attacks were also made by Marathas garrison at Purandar but the armies were alert. Marathas also tried to stop Mughal advance at machi of Purandar by throwing down leather bags full of gun powder bombs and heavy stones, but they could not stop the enemy's advance. Wooden towers were constructed to bring down the walls of the fort by the Mughals. Siege was becoming acute.

4.5.3 Death of Murarbaji:

Around 4,000 Marathas were present in the garrison who had very gallantly defended the fort outnumbering Mughal army and artillery. Large number of armies, blocking strategy and continuous bombarding on fort walls and towers could not lower their spirit. Under the heroic leadership of Murarbaji, Marathas continued their attacks and efforts to save the fort but by May 1665 Mughal soldiers had captured some parts of the fort. On sighting Diler Khan Murarbaji rushed towards him.

Diler Khan offered him a high post in the Mughal service. But Murarbaji refused and continued the courageous fighting but was struck by a stray arrow of Diler Khan and died. Even after his death others continued the fight with the same courage as before.

4.5.4 Treaty of Purandar 1665:

Lower side of the fort was captured by the Mughals and it was now becoming difficult to save the main fort. Hence Shivaji decided to make peace with Jaisingh. He sent his Minister Raghunath Ballal Atre (Panditrao) to discuss peace terms with Jai Singh. But Jai Singh wanted the submission of Shivaji in person. Shivaji on condition of safety and security in Mughal camp agreed to come for negotiations. Accordingly on

11th June Shivaji met Jai Singh at the foot of Purandar and agreed the terms of the Treaty of Purandar, which were as follows:

1. Twenty-three of Maratha forts should be surrendered along with the land yielding four lakh *hons* as annual revenue.
2. Twelve of Shivaji's forts including Rajgarh with annual revenue of 1 lakh *hons* should be left with Shivaji,
3. Shivaji had to agree to accept the Mughal service with loyalty but he asked for excuse and promised to send his son as his representative with a contingent of 5,000 horses. He also had to give consent to the proposal that for further Mughal wars in Deccan he will accompany with his force.
4. Shivaji agreed to pay 40 lakh *hons* for the area of Konkan and Balaghat which was in Bijapur territory where he can carry on his campaigns of conquests against Adil Shah.

Above terms were brought into effect immediately and reports were sent to Aurangzeb for his consent. Royal Farman and Robe of honour was granted to Shivaji, who was a vassal of the Mughals. Thus, in a short campaign of three months by Jai Singh and Diler Khan, Shivaji had to surrender a large part of his kingdom to Aurangzeb. It was a splendid victory for Jai Singh. The Treaty of Purandar was a striking blow to Marathas but Shivaji had to accept this treaty to save at least the remaining part of his *Swaraj*. His diplomacy, courage and understanding of the situation saved the *Swaraj*. To follow the terms with loyalty, Shivaji had participated in Bijapur campaigns of Mughals.

Check your progress

1. Discuss Mughal-Maratha relations with special reference to Treaty of Purandar.

4.5.5 Invasion of Bijapur:

The next Mughal campaign started on 20th November 1665 with the invasion of Bijapur. 9,000 Maratha troops under the leadership of Shivaji joined the Mughals. Both Shivaji and Netaji Palkar participated in the first war which broke out on 24th December 1665. Diler Khan was at the head of Mughal army. Bijapuri Generals Sharza Khan and Khawas Khan along with 12,000 troops offered stiff resistance. Vyankoji and Shivaji fought on opposite side in this war. By end of the December, the Mughal army reached 10 miles north of Bijapur, but because of lack of adequate preparations and weak artillery, Mughals had to retreat.

Shivaji had been given the task of winning over Panhala which was under Bijapuri control. But he failed to do so because the garrison there had given stiff resistance. Another blow was of defection of Netaji Palkar to Bijapur in return of 4 lakh *hons*. It was Jai Singh who tried hard and won him back to the Mughal camp. Meanwhile Qutb Shah joined hands with Adil Shah and offered combined resistance to the Mughals.

4.6 SHIVAJI'S VISIT TO AGRA 1666:

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Even though Shivaji has declared that he will not attend the Mughal court or accept mansab. He was convinced by Jai Singh to visit the imperial court once for a personal meeting with Aurangzeb himself. Shivaji in consultation with his Council of Ministers decided to visit Agra. He made arrangements of administration of his kingdom in his absence, left Jija Bai his mother as Regent with Peshwa Moropant and Majumdar Nilolji Sondev. He started his journey to Delhi on 5th March 1666. His eldest son Sambhaji, five high officers and about 250 selected men accompanied Shivaji.

On 11th May he arrived in the out skirts of Agra, where Aurangzeb was then holding the court on the occasion of his 50th birthday. he was scheduled to attend the Durbar at *Diwan e Am* in the morning but confusion in his arrival at Agra upset Shivaji. Ram Singh who had been given the task of escorting Shivaji to the Darbar could not meet at the appointed place. By the time Shivaji reached the *Diwan e Am* the formal darbar was over.

At the *Diwan e Khas* Shivaji presented his gifts to Aurangzeb who neither acknowledged them nor took any notice of Shivaji. Shivaji and Sambhaji were made to stand in the third row of the nobles of the rank of 5000 Mansabdars. Raja Jaswant Singh who has been defeated by Marathas after Shaista Khan Incident was placed prior to Shivaji. While distributing robes of honour Shivaji was ignored. A humiliated Shivaji stormed out of the darbar without taking formal leave of Aurangzeb. This was the unprecedented in Mughal *darbar*. An angry Aurangzeb provoked by the courtiers and anti-Jai Singh group order to keep Shivaji under house arrest.

The arrest continued even after repeated requests of Ram Singh that Shivaji's safety was the responsibility of his father Jai Singh and himself. Suspecting that there was collusion between Shivaji and Ram Singh Aurangzeb decided to send Ram Singh on an expedition to Afghanistan to deal with the Yusufzai and Afridi rebels.

Great Escape:

Shivaji on the other hand started using influences of some influential officers of the court to grant him pardon and allow him to return. He promised that after reaching Deccan he would join the campaign against Bijapur on behalf of the emperor. But nothing could work out. From 12th May to 18th August Shivaji remained in confinement at Agra, devising ways for extricating himself and his son out of the difficult situation. As a first step he asked for and secured the permission to send back his retinue. Only few of his trusted men remained with him. He also compelled Ram Singh to cancel the bond he had given to Aurangzeb.

After a few days Shivaji pretending illness asked for the permission to sent baskets of sweetmeats to sadhus, fakirs and courtiers to secure relief from illness. These were carried in huge baskets each slung from a pole which

was borne by two men on their shoulders. Initially the guards checked the baskets but few days after baskets went unchecked. On the evening of 19th August Shivaji and Sambhaji squeezed themselves in separate basket and went through the line of guards unchecked. Hiroji Farzand lied down at his place showing golden bracelet on his wrist and a servant sitting on the floor massaging Rajas feet. On the other side the baskets of sweetmeats were taken to a place six miles from Agra where Niraji Raoji, Datto Trimbak and Raghumitra were waiting with horses. Shivaji immediately proceeded to Mathura in the dark. Next day morning Hiroji along with the servant went outside saying Raja is taking rest. Being suspicious of the whole thing the guards entered his room and found that Shivaji had escaped. When Aurangzeb came to know he immediately dispatched his soldiers in pursuit of Shivaji through Malwa, Khandesh and Gujarat but Shivaji taken a route to the east to Mathura, Allahabad, Bundelkhand, Gondwana, Golkonda and finally reached Rajgarh on 12th September, 25 days after his miraculous escape. On the way he left Sambhaji at Mathura to the house of Krishnaji Kashi and Visaji, brother-in-law of Moro Trimbak. Later, Sambhaji was brought safe home.

After returning from Agra, Shivaji adopted kept quiet for some time. He did not initiate any fresh campaign for a year. Later he sent Sambhaji to Aurangabad to meet Prince Muazzam, who was then a viceroy of Deccan as Mansabdar of 5000. The wonderful escape brought name and fame for Shivaji through out the country. Ram Singh was punished by the withdrawal of his Mansab. Jai Singh was recalled and he died at Burhanpur on his way back. Netaji Palkar, serving as Mughal Mansabdar was arrested and converted to Islam and sent on the campaign at Afghanistan for ten years. He returned in 1676 and was made a Hindu again.

Check your progress:

2. Write short note on Shivaji's Visit to Agra.

4.7 MUGHAL-MARATHA CONFLICT, 1667-1670:

Since Shivaji's return to Maharashtra political conditions in the Deccan had changed. Death of Jai Singh, return of Muazzam and Jaswant Singh, Yusufzai revolts at Peshawar and dissention in Diler Khan camps diverted the attention of Mughals from campaign against Shivaji, who wanted to organize his government, make fresh revenue settlements, repair forts and extend his power to the west coast. There was peace for two years between Shivaji and the Mughals.

4.7.1 Capture of Kondana (Sinhagad):

After spending considerable time for consolidation of administration Shivaji decided to capture the forts he had lost by Treaty of Purandar. Kondana in the vicinity of Poona was one of the strong forts and worthy of being a part of Shivaji's swaraj. Udaybhan was a vigilant Rajput commander of Kondana maintained a strict vigil on the fort. Tanaji and

Suryaji Malusure with 300 selected men were sent to capture Kondana. He led his men from a remote hillside near the Kalyan gate by means of rope ladders and entered the fort. Both Uday Bhan and Tanaji fought bravely and both lost their lives. The Marathas were disheartened but were led by Suryaji; the Kalyan gate was opened for the other Maratha unit waiting outside. Within few hours Marathas took complete possession of fort. Tanaji, childhood friend of Shivaji was a gallant warrior. The lion-hearted warrior made the ultimate sacrifice in whose honour the fort was named Sinhagad.

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4.7.2 Series of conquests:

After capturing of Kondana Shivaji initiated a series of campaigns to recover the lost forts. Nilopant recovered Purandar on 8th March 1670. The area of Chandor was looted. Ludi Khan, the faujdar of Konkan was wounded in a battle by the Marathas and lost a portion of Mughal territory in northern Konkan. Shivaji's officers; Moropant Pingle, Nilopant, Annajipant and others recaptured twenty-six forts.

Aurangzeb was a suspicious man, always suspecting the fidelity of his sardars and mansabdars. He suspected even his son Prince Muazzam. He sent Diler Khan against the Marathas, but relations between Muazzam and Diler Khan were not cordial and his arrival caused strain in Mughal camp. This was a great opportunity for Shivaji and hence he once again decided to attack Surat.

4.7.3 Second Sack of Surat 1670:

On October 3, 1670 Shivaji reappeared before Surat at the head of 15000 troops. Shivaji left Surat with a huge booty. After this disastrous sack rich merchants of Surat started shifting to Bombay.

Immediately after sack of Surat, Duad Khan was sent to pursue Shivaji. Iklas Khan and Daud Khan tried hard to uproot Marathas from the area of Nasik and Baglan which was their route while returning from Surat. Both the armies fought fierce battle near Dindori on 17th Oct, 1670. The Marathas successfully drove them back. By December Shivaji planned raids into Khandesh area. Fort of Markanda, Ravla was captured and huge loot was collected from Berar and Baglan.

4.8 MUGHAL MARATHA CONFLICT AFTER 1671:

Shivaji's sack of Surat came as a shock to Aurangzeb. He now selected Mahabat Khan to lead the campaign against Shivaji. Mahabat Khan did not display any energy in his campaigns against Shivaji. The emperor recalled him. Marathas captured Salher in January 1671. The Mughals tried to check the Marathas but with Aurangzeb involved with Pathan disturbances in the north, a large-scale campaign against Shivaji was not possible. After coronation Marathas continued their attacks on Mughal territory. They attacked base of Mughal governor Bahadur khan at Padgaon. Shivaji's conquest of the north Karnatak had not escaped the notice of Aurangzeb. He ordered Bahadur Khan to carry on a vigorous

campaign against Shivaji. This led to Mughal -Bijapur treaty against Shivaji in 1675. But the plan could not succeed because soon Bijapur Vazir Khawas Khan was put to death. In May 1676 Mughals invaded Bijapur. Taking advantage of the situation Shivaji undertook Karnatak expedition. In May 1677 Diler Khan was appointed Mughal governor of Deccan.

4.8.1 Sambhaji joins the Mughal

While Shivaji was busy in war with Mughals and Bijapur, an unfortunate incident happened. Sambhaji, the elder son of Shivaji defected to the Mughal camp in 1678. Diler Khan won him over. It was a severe blow to Shivaji. He was given a Mansab of 7000 along with the title 'Raja'. Prince Muazzam, viceroy of Deccan tried to capture Bijapur. The Maratha country side was ravaged and towns plundered by Diler Khan. Sambhaji realized the futility of fighting for Mughals and ravaging our own people, repented for his act of desertion and return to Shivaji by the end of 1679. The Mughal invasion met with failure and Prince Muazzam and Diler Khan were recalled by Aurangzeb.

Shaista Khan, Diler Khan and many others led various unsuccessful the Marathas. Thus, Shivaji till his death in April 1680 continued constant struggle against the mighty Mughals to protect his Swaraj, His people, his wealth, and his religion, subjugation of Marathas remained still a challenge before vast Mughal Empire in the North.

4.9 ESTIMATE OF SHIVAJI:

Chhatrapati Shivaji was a genius, far in advance of his times. He treated all religions with equal respect. Shivaji is considered as a unique personality not only in his own times, but in modern age as well. In the midst of surrounding darkness, he, with his brilliance and courage, shined. Sir Jadunath Sarkar has rightly said “The last great constructive genius and nation builder that the Hindu race has produced. He called the Maratha race to a new life. He raised the Marathas into an independent, self-reliant people, conscious of their oneness and high destiny and his most precious legacy was the spirit that he breathed into his race. He has proved by his example that the Hindu race can build a nation, found a state, defeat enemies; they can conduct their own defense, protect and promote literature and art, commerce, industry. They can maintain navy and ocean trading fleets of their own and conduct naval battles on equal terms with foreigners. He taught the modern Hindus to rise to the full stature of their growth. Shivaji has shown that the tree of Hinduism is not really dead, that it can rise from beneath the seemingly crushing load of centuries of political bondage; that it can put forth new leaves and branches. It can again lift up its head to the skies.”

4.10 SUMMARY:

During his entire life, Shivaji continuously fought Mughals which was the central power in India. Aurangzeb had subjugated almost all the rulers of

India except the Marathas. Shivaji coronated himself in the year 1674 and established a strong administrative system which Mughals tried unsuccessfully to destroy after his death. Subjugation of Marathas seemed practically impossible making Aurangzeb spend in vain the last twenty-five years of his life in the Deccan.

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4.11 QUESTIONS :

1. Analyze the significance of the following events in the life of Shivaji:
a) Shaista Khan Episode, b) Shivaji's visit to Agra.
2. Comment on: a) Treaty of Purandar b) Sack of Surat.
3. Give an account for Shivaji's relations with Mughals with special reference to his visit to Agra.
- 4 Review the Mughal-Maratha relationship from 1661 to 1680 with special reference to the Treaty of Purandar.

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ESTABLISHMENT OF SWARAJYA: SHIVAJI'S RELATIONS WITH EUROPEANS

Unit Structure

- 5.0 Objectives
- 5.1 Introduction
- 5.2 Shivaji and the European Powers
- 5.3 Shivaji and the Portuguese
- 5.4 Marathas and the English
- 5.5 Shivaji and the Dutch
- 5.6 Shivaji and the French
- 5.7 Summary
- 5.8 Questions
- 5.9 References

5.0 OBJECTIVES:

1. To study the causes of Maratha expedition to the south.
2. To understand the nature of expedition and its effects.
3. To examine the relations of Shivaji with the European powers.

5.1 INTRODUCTION:

After the grand coronation of 1674 the treasury of the Marathas was almost empty. War with Adilshah and capture of Phonda were the costly affairs and hence Shivaji was in a search of new areas to control. Similarly the contemporary political changes also demanded his interference in Deccan politics. He therefore decided to undertake the Karnatak expedition.

Qutbshahi king of Golkonda was also then in search of support to save his kingdom against Bijapur and Mughal attacks. The civil war between the Afghan and Deccani parties at the court of Adilshah provided an opportunity to Qutbshah to collaborate with Shivaji.

5.2 SHIVAJI AND HIS RELATIONS WITH EUROPEANS

In the 15th century English, French, Dutch and the Portuguese arrived in India. Their representatives were granted by their respective kings Royal Charters granting them monopoly of trade with India. To begin with they requested the local rulers for permission to carry on their trading activities.

All of them had their settlements along the coast of India. On the western coast they came into contact with Shivaji when he rose to power in Maharashtra. With his vision and foresight Shivaji noted their trading and other activities.

5.3 SHIVAJI AND THE PORTUGUESE:

Portuguese had settled in Goa and in north Konkan from Chaul to Daman. The conflict between Shivaji and the Portuguese arose because of the following causes:

1. Portuguese had tried to control the coastal areas of Maharashtra which Shivaji did not like. They also helped Siddhis in their war against Marathas.
2. The interruption of trade from the upland part to Goa by Shivaji's officers.
3. The Desais of the South Konkan on being dispossessed by Shivaji took refuge in Goa and thus violating the neutrality of Portuguese territory.
4. Shivaji's claim to *chauth* from the Daman and Koli Raja of Ramnagar.

But in spite of these differences Portuguese viceroys wisely avoided war with Shivaji and remained neutral during his wars with the Mughals and Bijapur. When in 1659, Shivaji's vessels built at Bhiwandi, Kalyan and Pen, began to ply the seas, the Portuguese Viceroy ordered his deputy at Bassein to hinder their voyage. But with the growth of Maratha power, they avoided conflict and developed friendly attitude toward them. Lakham Sawant and Desais from Kudal opposed Shivaji's advance, but they were defeated in 1664. They fled to the Portuguese district of Bardes. In 1667 Shivaji attacked Bardes. However later, he entered a treaty of friendship with Portuguese. In 1668 the Desais continued to violate the neutrality of Goa by attacking Marathas, and the viceroy expelled them from the Portuguese dominions at the beginning of June 1668.

The treaty of peace with Shivaji was renewed in 1670. According to which the viceroy removed a constant source of friction by extending to Shivaji's ship equality of treatment with Mughal ships in the matter of

granting Portuguese passes on the payment of the customary fee. Shivaji repealed his promise to forbid his officers to levy tax on the trade between Goa and the *Ghats*.

After his annexing Ramnagar Shivaji demanded *Chauth* as the lawful right in succession to the Koli Raja of Ramnagar. The viceroy of Goa avoided paying it as long as possible. At last, Shivaji threatened war, but his premature death saved the Portuguese. Thus, the Portuguese were a decadent power in India anxious only to hold their own, and timidly averting an armed encounter with Indian states by employing friendly appeal, patient endurance and diplomatic evasion.

Check your progress

1) Write a short note on Maratha Portuguese relations.

5.4 MARATHAS AND ENGLISH

The British came in contact with Shivaji when his General Doraji Raide attacked the port of Rajapur. Though the English had no business to take sides they openly assisted Adilshah and Mughals. The second Maratha attack on Rajapur took place in March 1661. This time too, as Jadunath Sarkar has said, “the English was clearly in the wrong”. While Shivaji was besieged in Panhala by Siddi Jauhar, the English supplied some cannons and ammunition to the Siddi. The siege of Siddi was very effective because of their help, which put Shivaji in a very difficult situation. Shivaji’s second attack on Rajapur factory was intended to punish the English for their interference in his internal affairs. He plundered the factory and took four of the factors, Henry Revington, Richard Taylor, Randolph Taylor and Philip Gyfford as prisoners. In February 1663 they were released. English sensed the need to maintain cordiality with Shivaji and began negotiations for compensation for the loss done to their factory at Rajapur.

During sack of Surat, the English made adequate preparations to defend themselves. Shivaji then chose to leave them alone. In 1671 Shivaji sent an ambassador to Bombay to secure English aid against Siddi, especially grenades and ammunition but the English avoided to participate in conflict between Shivaji and Siddi. English sent Lt. Stephen Ustick in 1672 to negotiate with Shivaji. The demand of ammunition was once again pushed by the Marathas but English were firm on the compensation of their previous losses. But the negotiations could not make much headway. They however dragged on throughout the year 1672.

The English were impatient at the slow progress of the negotiations. To the Rajapur incident was now added the loss sustained by the English at Hubli when that town was sacked by the Marathas. Yet the English did not want to break off negotiation because at the same time Dutch had approached Shivaji for a mutually beneficial treaty. In 1673 Shivaji received English ambassador Thomas Nicolls. They reached an agreement in April

1674, according to which the Rajapur affairs were settled and the British secured permission to trade in his territory. Henry Oxinden, a representative of the British east India Company was sent to Raigad to secure the confirmation of the treaty. He reached Raigad at the time of Shivaji's coronation and his account of the ceremony is considered very reliable.

Shivaji also attacked the British factory at Dharangaon in Khandesh in 1675. Mr. Samuel Austen went to Raigad on an embassy to demand compensation but Shivaji refused to accept his claim.

Shivaji decided to fortify the island of Khanderi. Immediately the English tried to oppose this move by blocking the supply of provision and material reaching the island. A naval battle was fought. The Marathas defended Khanderi. The British withdrew their fleet and the Marathas occupied Khanderi in 1680. After the death of Shivaji, Sambhaji tried to maintain cordial relations with the British.

Check your progress

1) Explain Anglo-Maratha relationship during the period Shivaji.

5.5 SHIVAJI AND DUTCH

The Dutch came to India after Portuguese. In 1637, they built a fort at Vengurla. Shivaji wanted to make use of Dutch power to crush Siddis but could not do so. The Dutch provided help to Marathas in the campaign of Bardes in 1667. Portuguese and Dutch were staunch enemies of each other and hence Dutch tried to exploit the opportunities during Maratha Portuguese conflict. During the sack of Surat Shivaji spared Dutch like other Europeans. During the Karnatak campaign Dutch factories at Portonova and Tegenapattam sent gifts to Shivaji and secured his recognition.

5.6 SHIVAJI AND FRENCH

French came in contact with Shivaji when they setup their factory at Rajapur. It was Pondicherry where the Marathas came into close contact with the French. Francois martin, Governor of Pondicherry sent a letter appealing to Shivaji to protect the French factories in the Karnatak. On the condition of strict neutrality Shivaji assured protection to French. An account of Shivaji's Karnatak expedition and conditions prevailing in the South has been given by Francois martin.

5.7 SUMMARY

Shivaji established Maratha *swaraj* and expanded his kingdom from North Konkan to South. During this task, he came into contact with the Europeans. The Europeans wisely avoided conflict with Shivaji and tried to remain neutral. Shivaji never trusted the Europeans and never allowed them to interfere in his internal matters. Unfortunately, the later rulers did not maintain his policy.

5.8 QUESTIONS

- 1) Explain the relationship of Shivaji and the European powers.
- 2) Review Anglo- Maratha relations during the reign of Shivaji.

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PERIOD OF CONSOLIDATION AND CRISIS: SAMBHAJI, RAJARAM AND TARABAI CIVIL WAR-TARABAI AND SHAHU

Unit Structure

- 7.0 Objectives
- 7.1 Introduction
- 7.2 Sambhaji against Mughals
- 7.3 Sambhaji's War with the Siddhis and the Portuguese
- 7.4 Death of Sambhaji
- 7.5 Chhatrapati Rajaram
- 7.6 Maharani Tarabai (1700 -1707)
- 7.7 The Civil War: Tarabai and Shahu
- 7.8 Summary
- 7.9 Questions
- 7.10 References

7.0 OBJECTIVES:

- 1) To trace the heroic struggle of the Marathas against powerful Mughals after the death of Shivaji.
- 2) To understanding why this period is termed as the war of Independence.
- 3) To study the role played by *Chhatrapati* Rajaram and Tarabai during the war of independence.

7.1 INTRODUCTION:

‘The Maratha kingdom was invaded by a powerful enemy in the person of Aurangzeb. He used all his valour and resources, in wealth and materials, for the destruction and conquest of this kingdom. But all his efforts proved futile, by the grace of God.’

- *Adnya Patra*

The Maratha state created by Shivaji, in the course of less than three decades proved its vitality during thirty years that followed his death on 4th April 1680.

On the 4th April 1680 Shivaji died at Raigad. After his death his eldest son Sambhaji succeeded as *Chhatrapati*. He ruled up to 1689 and continued his struggle against the Mughal Empire but without much success. Maharani Soyarabai who claimed the throne for her son Rajaram opposed his succession to the throne. He crushed all opposition and was coronated in 1681. Sambhaji did not have the support of the Maratha nobles and courtiers of his father's time and he punished them. He came under the influence of Kavi Kalash, a *Brahmin* from Kanauj, which was not liked by the Maratha Sardars. Thus, there was internal disturbance during his reign.

7.2 SAMBHAJI AGAINST MUGHALS:

Sambhaji followed Shivaji's policy of raiding of Mughal territory in the Deccan. He raided Burhanpur. In 1680-81 he carried a campaign in Karnatak. In the meanwhile, Prince Akbar who had rebelled against Aurangzeb accompanied by Durga Das Rathod arrived at Sambhaji's court in June 1681 and Sambhaji not only gave the Prince shelter but also promised to support him with a large Maratha army to secure the Mughal throne. Prince Akbar promised that he would bring about an alliance between the Marathas and Rajputs for a combined onslaught on the Mughal Empire. Aurangzeb on hearing about Akbar joining Sambhaji came down to the Deccan in November 1681. He had already sent a powerful force under Prince Azam to pursue Prince Akbar. Aurangzeb planned a four-sided attack against the Marathas, 1. Sayyed Hussain Ali Khan was dispatched to the north Konkan 2. Shihab-ud-din Khan to Nasik 3. Ruhullah Khan and Prince Shah Alam were sent to Ahmednagar (to guard it from a surprise Maratha attack) and 4. Prince Azam was sent to Bijapur to prevent supplies and help reaching the Marathas. He sowed dissension among the followers of Akbar and Sambhaji and won them over to his side by bribes and rewards. Shihab-ud-din Khan captured some forts near Nasik but was compelled to abandon them on account of timely arrival on Maratha army. Akbar now suggested to Sambhaji that they should make a joint attack on Aurangzeb's head quarters or make a dash through Gujarat into Rajputana. But Sambhaji hesitated to take such a bold step. Aurangzeb now invaded Bijapur and Golconda and annexed them. Akbar felt that Sambhaji was of no help and fled to Iran in 1687.

7.3 SAMBHAJI'S WAR WITH THE SIDDHIS AND PORTUGUESE:

Siddhis and Portuguese were asked by Aurangzeb to join his war against Marathas. The Siddhis raided Maratha territory towards the end of 1681. Sambhaji at once launched a naval attack on Janjira. The Marathas created terrible havoc against the Siddhis, but just at this time Aurangzeb arrived in the Deccan and Sambhaji was compelled to raise the siege of Janjira.

During 1683 Sambhaji attacked the Portuguese at Chaul and Goa. He pushed back the Portuguese. This victory encouraged Sambhaji to advance towards Goa but he had to retreat in order to face a Mughal army under Shah Alam who was threatening his territory.

Period of Consolidation and Crisis: Sambhaji, Rajaram and Tarabai
Civil War-Tarabai and Shahu

7.4 DEATH OF SAMBHAJI :

The conquest of Bijapur and Golconda enriched Aurangzeb. On the other hand, Sambhaji had exhausted his treasury and had added nothing during his seven years of misgovernment and war. Aurangzeb wanted to capture Sambhaji. Sarza Khan one of the Bijapur generals under Aurangzeb defeated and killed Hambir Rao Mohite, Commander in chief of the Maratha army. This sealed the fate of Sambhaji. By this time Sambhaji had been deserted by most of his followers. Sambhaji was encircled by the Mughals on all sides. Finally in 1689, because of the treachery of Shirkes, a Maratha family Sambhaji and Kavi Kalash were captured after a small skirmish at Sangameshwar.

Sambhaji and Kavi Kalash were dressed as buffoons and brought before Aurangzeb, who proposed that Sambhaji's life would be spared if he surrendered all his forts, revealed all hidden treasures and discloses the names of Mughals officers who were in league with him. Sambhaji rejected this proposal. Sambhaji and Kavi Kalash were tortured for a fortnight and then killed in a most cruel manner.

Thus, though Sambhaji lacked the good qualities of Shivaji and had even turned towards the Mughals during Shivaji's time, later he carried out the struggle against the Mughal Empire and died a hero's death. The fearless manner in which he met his end, united and steeled the hearts of the Maratha nation as nothing else would have done, and nerved them to avenge the death of their king.

Check Your Progress:

- 1) Discuss the Mughal-Maratha relations during Sambhaji's Period.

7.5 CHHATRAPATI RAJARAM (1689-1700)

Rajaram, the younger son of Shivaji, was just nineteen years old, at the time of Sambhaji's death. He was born on 24 February 1670. The news of Sambhaji's capture reached at Raigad. His commander Yesaji Kank proclaimed him king in February, a week after Sambhaji had been seized. This proved that the Maratha monarchy was not at an end. Pralhad Niraji, Manaji More and others were recalled to their offices. When the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb learnt about the proclamation of the new King at Raigad, he immediately sent his forces under his able commander Zulfiqar Khan to invade Raigad and to capture both that fort and the new Maratha king. The Khan arrived before the fort on 25 March 1689 and at once laid siege to it. In this critical situation Yesu Bai, the widow of Sambhaji an intensely devoted woman guided the Marathas. She encouraged the Marathas by her brave words, "Raigad is doubtless a strong fort and can

hold out long; but it is hazardous that we should all remain confined in this small place. In order to distract Aurangzeb's attention, she advised Rajaram that he, along with his wives and followers should escape from Raigad before the siege becomes too stringent. She offered to stay in Raigad with her son Shahu and defend the capital. Meanwhile the Maratha army was waging a guerrilla war with the mighty Mughal army.

Accordingly, Rajaram escaped from Raigad on 5 April, proceeded to Pratapgad and kept his wives and other people into the difficult fortresses of Vishalgad and Rangna. Some of the other leaders, like Ramchandra Pant Amatya, Pralhad Niraji and Shankarji Malhar Sachiv also left Raigad. They continued their campaign against the Mughals by plundering and using a network of spies to obtain information of the enemy's movements.

While Zulfiqar Khan was busy in the siege of Raigad Aurangzeb captured several other important Maratha forts such as Salher, Trimbak, Rajgad, Rohida, Torna and Mahuli. Aurangzeb had appointed Matabar Khan to administer north Konkan, which contained several forts of strategic importance.

Rajaram's young sardars, Santaji Ghorpade and Dhanaji Jadhav took up the task of harassing the Mughal army in every possible way. They stopped the supplies reaching Zulfiqar Khan at Raigad. They had created a terror in the Mughal army. With a few selected followers they made their way on a dark night in the rains to Aurangzeb's camp at Koregaon. They fell upon the royal tent, cut down the supporting ropes and the huge cloth edifice came down in a crash. They carried away the sets of large gold pinnacles at the top of the tent and other valuables and presented them, to Rajaram at Pratapgad. Afterwards it was discovered that Aurangzeb was absent from the camp.

Soon a Mughal force came to Prataptad and Rajaram had to leave it and take up his residence at Panhala. Sheikh Nizam, who had captured Sambhaji invaded against Panhala to no avail. In the meanwhile, Santaji fell upon Zulfiqar Khan's besieging army, and brought away five elephants and a huge plunder.

7.5.1 Fall of Raigad

Although Raigad was difficult to access Zulfiqar Khan captured Raigad on 3rd November 1689 after a siege of 8 months. With the fall of Raigad maharani Yesubai, Shahu and many others of the royal family were captured and carried to the camp of Aurangzeb in honour and safety. But their joy was short-lived. The Marathas at this time were ready to save their nation under the leadership of Rajaram. Rajaram did not possess the skills of father of managing the affairs, but he cheerfully accepted the suggestions of his counselors. His chief adviser was Pralhad Niraji, son of Niraji Raoji.

But the credit of organizing the Maratha's against the Mughal Emperor goes to Ramchandra Nilkanth. Ramchandra Pant was no soldier, and hardly moved from his base on any military expedition. He kept an eye

upon the doings of the number of Maratha leaders. Two of the Maratha chiefs, Parashuram Trimbak Pratinidhi, Shakankaraji Narayan Sachiv were holding and recapturing the important forts of homeland.

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7.5.2 Maratha Trek to Jinji

Rajaram's position at Panhala again became insecure and it was decided that he should escape to Jinji along with some of his followers. He arrived at Jinji on 15 November 1689. Jinji soon became the center of Maratha activity.

The credit of retrieving the Maratha fortunes goes to Ramchandra Pant Amatya and Santaji Ghorpade. The aims of the Maratha government in prosecuting the struggle against the Mughals are clearly stated in the charters, issued by their rulers during this period of war. Rajaram weaned away many Maratha chiefs who had accepted Mughal service. On 22 March 1690 Rajaram ruling from Jinji assured Baji Sarzerao Jedhe Deshmukh of Kari of his support. In his letter he explained that the Mughal emperor is becoming powerful because of the help given by the Maratha Sardars. Therefore, he should stop giving this help to save his religion.

The Maratha bands spread over the vast territories from Khandesh to the south coast over Gujarat, Baglan, Gondwana and the Karnatak, devastating Mughal treasures, animals and stocks of camp equipment Aurangzeb was unable to cope with these methods. Ramchandra Pant took affective measures against the Marathas who sided with the Mughals.

7.5.3 Besiegers besieged

The main object of the Maratha administrators and generals at this time was to bring their Chhatrapati back to Maharashtra from Jinji and liberate the Maratha territories from the Mughal control. Rajaram now strongly decided not to compromise in any way with the Mughals and continued his struggle.

For the first few years of the present phase of the war, Jinji formed the main objective of the Emperor's efforts for putting down the Marathas. Zulfiqar Khan realized the hopelessness of subduing the Marathas under the prevailing conditions. Very often the troops of Santaji and Dhanaji pressed him so hard, that instead of besieging Jinji, he found himself and troops besieged, during the summer of 1691.

At the end of 1692 Ali Mardan Khan, in charge of Kanchi, encountered Santaji Ghorpade. On 13 December 1692 Ali Mardan Khan was defeated and taken prisoner to Jinji, where he had to pay a large ransom to affect his release. On January 1693, Ismail Khan Maka was similarly dealt with by Dhanaji. Thus, Zulfiqar Khan found himself in pitiable condition.

Aurangzeb had now sent his son Kam Baksh and Asad Khan, father of Zulfiqar Khan to besiege Jinji. But their arrival created more complications. Kam Baksh followed the examples set earlier by his

brother Akbar. They charged the Prince with collusion with the Marathas and openly placed him under arrest in December 1692. The confusion increases when a false report went round that the Emperor had died. The victorious Maratha generals proclaimed Maratha sovereignty over the whole of Karnatak. The condition of the Mughal force became pitiable. Marathas cut off all supplies and lines of communication of Mughals. Zulfiqar khan was forced to pay large ransom to secure his release. For a time Santaji became the master of the situation.

7.5.4 Santaji's tragic end

Santaji in his career respected and obeyed only Ramchandra Pant. The letters during this period clearly show how difficult Ramchandra Pant had found to handle Santaji. Santaji's biting tongue and boastful demeanor had more than once disgusted Rajaram. After the unequalled successes over the various Mughal generals, Santaji went straight to Jinji in April 1695, and demanded an adequate reward for his services. The relation between Rajaram and Santaji were strained because of Santaji's boastful nature. He was dismissed from the post of Senapati, Dhanaji Jadhav was appointed in his place.

Santaji was not able to bare this insult. The monsoon months of 1696 passed critically for Santaji on the one hand and for Rajaram and Dhanaji on the other. Rajaram ordered Dhanaji to capture Santaji and bring him a prisoner before him. Santaji then fled away, being hotly pursued by Dhanaji from the Karnatak into Maharashtra. Nagoji Mane of Mhaswad near Satara was on his track. One hot noon in June 1697, as Santaji was taking his bath he was captured and put to death. His death was a severe blow to the Marathas. Santaji is remembered as the master of guerilla warfare.

Check Your Progress:

- 1) Write a short note on Santaji and his contribution to the Maratha kingdom

7.5.5 Fall of Jinji

The position of Rajaram was precarious. Having spent eight years in exile and he was hard pressed for money. Aurangzeb ordered Zulfiqar to take Jinji without further delay. In the meanwhile, Rajaram escaped with his followers from Jinji in December 1697. Jinji was captured on 7th February 1698.

On 22nd February 1698, Rajaram reached Vishalgad. Satara was made capital. Rajaram at this time wanted some peace treaty to be signed with the Mughal Emperor. But Aurangzeb continued with the war. Aurangzeb, however, soon captured the fort of Satara, but the Marathas retook it in 1704.

During 1698 and 1699 Rajaram toured the entire country and established contact with local officers and the guardians of forts and cheered up his

soldiers by his personal presence. During this tour of inspection, he discovered clear evidence of the decline of the Mughal power. Aurangzeb was already too old to control the extensive and conflicting elements of his government. His sons and officers looked more to their personal prospects. Rajaram deputed Nemaji Sinde with some other chiefs to ravage Khandesh and Berar and exact *Chauth* from those districts. Early in 1699 Nemaji encountered the Mughal governor of Thalner, Husain Ali Khan, captured him and released him after exacting a fine of two lakhs from him. This news distressed the Emperor beyond measure.

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Check Your Progress:

- 1) Comment on fall of Jinji.

7.5.6 Death and Estimate of Rajaram

At this moment of triumph and rising hope Rajaram found the strain of camp life unbearable and his health suddenly gave way. He became ill and died at Sinhagad on 2nd March 1700, having just completed 30 years of his life. Rajaram was weak, but he was shrewd, sincere and a born patriot. He showed no personal daring or capacity for government. But he fortunately obtained wise and able counselors in Ramchandra Pant and Pralhad Niraji, and brave warriors in Santaji and Dhanaji. His death undoubtedly deepened the crisis of his state, though his survivors had both courage and power to tide over it.

Check Your Progress:

- 1) Write a short note on Chhatrapati Rajaram.

7.6 MAHARANI TARABAI :

After Rajaram's death his widowed queen Tarabai crowned her son Shivaji II, then a child of four and became his regent. Tarabai, daughter of Hambirrao Mohite, was born in the year 1675. She was a spirited lady who took upon herself the responsibility of defending the Maratha kingdom. She infused vigor in her people and organized a tough opposition to Aurangzeb. She exhibited wonderful powers of organization and inspired the Marathas in their national cause. She personally looked into the matters of administration. She chose her own men to carry on war and planned raids into the Mughal territory. The energetic Tarabai not only carried out military campaigns against the Mughals but with clear diplomatic moves she created trouble for the emperor all over Maharashtra. Wild rumours of all sorts were purposefully circulated to mislead the Mughal generals to create a wedge between them. Khafi Khan in praise of her writes, "She showed great powers of command and government and from day to day the war spread and the power of the Marathas increased." Aurangzeb now directed his forces to capture Panhala and Vishalgad the two strong fortresses.

The Emperor captured Panhala, Vishalgad, Sinhagadh, and Rajgad mainly by the use of bribe. The Marathas had adopted a new strategy – They would hold the fort as long as possible and then surrender on payment of huge sum of money. As soon as Aurangzeb turned his back the forts were recaptured. Under the leadership of Tarabai, Maratha power grew stronger and stronger with the result that Aurangzeb was compelled to be on the defensive. The Marathas during the last year of the aged Emperor's reigns preceded beyond Maharashtra and led expeditions into Malwa and Gujarat. They ravaged Burhanpur, Surat, Broach and other rich towns of the western Coast. They established their rule over Southern Karnatak. At one point Aurangzeb even decided to conclude peace with them but abandoned the plan, when he suspected some intrigue being carried out by his own generals with the help of Marathas. Aurangzeb died in 1707 at Ahmednagar.

Tarabai managed the affairs of Maharashtra in the name of her son with skill and ability. Later after the advent of Shahu on the scene many of her supporters deserted her. With their assistance she had prosecuted the war with a vigor and success. According to A.L. Shrivastava, "The success of Maratha war of independence was in no small measure due to the great personality of this queen."

Check your progress

- 1) Examine the role played by Maharani Tarabai in the history of Marathas.

7.7 THE CIVIL WAR: TARABAI AND SHAHU

The Mughal had captured Shahu after Sambhaji's death and kept him in the Mughal prison at Delhi.

Aurangzeb had many times thought of releasing Shahu and create dissension among the Marathas but he somehow could not do so during his lifetime. However, after his death Azam Shah released Shahu to create dissension in the Maratha camp. Shahu was released on the condition that he would rule as a feudatory to Azam but he was granted permission to collect the *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* from six Mughal Subhas, and his paternal kingdom. In order that Shahu should not declare independence, his mother and other family members were to be taken to Delhi as hostages.

Shahu's entry in Maharashtra evoked mixed reaction as, one hand the people welcomed the return of the son of the martyr king Sambhaji. On the other the Maratha nobles and officers got divided between two factions, one supporting Shahu and the other Tarabai and her son whom she had put on the throne of the Maratha kingdom. This led to a civil war in the Maratha kingdom. Tarabai first tried to prove that Shahu was an imposter. She argued that he had no right to the Maratha throne as Sambhaji had lost Shivaji's kingdom and it was Rajaram who had recovered it. Therefore, it was her son and not Shahu who was the legal

heir to the throne. Many eminent Maratha Sardars and Brahmins sided with Shahu. Among these were Parsoji Bhosle, Nemaji Shinde, Haibat Rao Nimbalkar and others. Balaji Vishwanath the future Peshwa helped in this delicate situation by winning over many Sardars to Shahu's side.

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Tarabai rejected all claims of Shahu and refused to relinquish power. She sent an army under Dhanaji Jadhav to check Shahu's advance by force. A battle was fought at Khed.

7.7.1 Battle of Khed

A battle was fought at Khed on November 1707, on the bank of the Bhima in which Tarabai was defeated. Dhanaji her commander in chief had been won over by Balaji Vishwanath. He was convinced that Shahu was the legitimate heir to the throne. Dhanaji Jadhav therefore played no part in the battle. Dhanaji now joined Shahu and was appointed *Senapati*. Khando Ballal was raised to the office of *Chitnis*. Many other notable officers of Tarabai deserted her and went over to Shahu who marched in triumph to Satara and was coronated in 1708. Tarabai and her son had taken shelter in Panhala. Shahu captured that fort also compelling Tarabai to fly to Rangna and from there to Malwan. Tarabai continued her opposition. She secured the help of Chandrasen i.e. Dhanaji's son and several other chiefs. Dhanaji had died and Chandrasen was made the next commander by Shahu. However, he went over to Tarabai's side. Tarabai also got the help of the Angres but later on Kanhoji Angre was won over by Balaji Vishwanath. Another bone of contention between Shahu and Tarabai was the issue of *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi*.

7.7.2 Claim for Chauth and Sardeshmukhi.

Shahu and Tarabai both claimed for *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi*. Even the Mughals refused to mediate in this issue. By her activity and diplomacy Tarabai made Shahu's position shaky during 1711 and 1712.

Tarabai had established herself at Kolhapur while Shahu was at Satara. The river Warna had become a dividing line between their territories. The civil war would have continued but fortunately for Shahu, Tarabai was thrown in prison in 1714 as the result of a palace intrigue. Rajasbai another widow of Rajaram put Tarabai and her son into prison and placed her son Sambhaji on the throne with herself as regent. Sambhaji continued to intrigue against Shahu. Shahu defeated him and secured from him the treaty of Warna in 1731, by which territory south of the Warna was to belong to Sambhaji while that on the north to Shahu.

7.8 SUMMARY:

In the war of independence, the Marathas proved their fitness to survive. While the grandiose structure of the Mughal imperial system was tottering to its fall, the young and vigorous Maratha power was advancing in a crescendo of staggering success.

7.9 QUESTIONS:

- 1) Describe the events in Maharashtra during the 'Period of Crisis'.
(1680-1707)
- 2) Trace the events that led to the civil war between Shahu and Tarabai.
- 3) Write an essay on the Maratha war of Independence between 1689 and 1707.
- 4) Write short notes on
 - a) Sambhaji b) Rajaram c) Tarabai

7.10 REFERENCE:

1. House of Shivaji by Sir Jadunath Sarkar.
2. History of Aurangzeb by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Vol. III and Vol. V.
3. Aurangzeb's life in Maharashtra by Ishwardas Vidyasagar.
4. Rajaram's life by V.N.Chitnis.



ADMINISTRATION DURING THE ROYAL PERIOD: CIVIL, REVENUE, JUDICIAL AND MILITARY

Unit Structure

- 8.0 Objectives
- 8.1 Introduction
- 8.2 Civil Administration
- 8.3 Revenue Administration
- 8.4 Judicial Administration
- 8.5 Military Administration
- 8.6 Summary
- 8.7 Questions
- 8.8 References

8.0 OBJECTIVES :

1. To make students understand the civil, revenue, judicial and military administration of Maratha during the Royal period.
 2. To help the students understand Shivaji in various roles – a farsighted king, a military genius, a disciplinarian and an impartial ruler.
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8.1 INTRODUCTION :

Shivaji became the crowned King of an independent Maratha kingdom in 1674 and converted his conquests into lawful domain assuming the title of *Chhatrapati*. The coronation undoubtedly strengthened Shivaji's position as he could claim equality with other crowned kings. The constitution of Maratha *Swarajya* received a formal shape on the occasion of the coronation. However the Council of Eight Ministers had been working even before the coronation.

Shivaji's territory extended from Maharashtra in the north to Jinji and Tanjore in the South (excluding some independent states that lay in between). Shivaji was not only a great military leader but a good administrator also. He had carved out a kingdom and had established a system in the existing chaos in Deccan. Shivaji had realized that peace and order were of primary importance for the ordered government of the people. Also, strict discipline was very essential for the army and state in its infancy.

8.2 CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION:

8.2.1 *Ashta Pradhan Mandal*

The theory and practice of ancient governments in India was the basis of Shivaji's central government. The king was Head of the Central government. He was assisted by a Council of Eight Ministers called '*Ashta Pradhan Mandal*'. The ministers in the Ashta Pradhan Mandal were designation as follows:-

1. The *Peshwa* or *Mukhya Pradhan* (Prime Minister)- Moropant Trimbak Pingle.

He was next in rank to the King and his duty was to supervise the working of the Council of Eight Ministers and to co-ordinate the working of the various ministries. All royal letters and charters had to bear his seal below that of the King's.

2. *Mujumdar* or *Amatya* (Revenue Minister) - Ramchandra Nilkantha and Naro Nilkanth. He had to check all the public finances and expenditure and update the king about the financial position. He had to countersign all statements of accounts both the kingdom in general and of the particular districts.

3. *Waknavis* or *Mantri* (Personal Advisor or Chronicler)- Dattaji Trimbak.

His was to compile the daily routine of the King. He would also act as the master of ceremonies.

4. *Surnis* or *Sachiv* (Finance Minister)- Annaji Datto

He was to examine and correct all royal letters and check the accounts of the mahals and parganas.

5. *Sarnobat* or *Senapati* (Commander-in-chief)- Hambirrao Mohite He was to make war, lead expedition and maintain newly acquired territories. He also kept the army alert and in an excellent condition.

6. *Dabir* or *Sumant* (Foreign Affairs Minister)-Ramchandra Trimbak.

He advised the king on foreign affairs and had the responsibility to receive and entertain foreign envoys and maintain the dignity of the state abroad.

7. *Nyayadhish* (Chief Justice)- Raoji Niraji.

The *Nyayadhish* was to settle all the civil and criminal cases as he was the highest judicial authority in the state.

8. *Panditrao* (Religious Affairs)- Pandit Raghunathrao.

He was to honour and reward learned *Brahmins*, settle caste and religious disputes, plan religious ceremonies. All religious matters were under his jurisdiction.

8.2.2 Other responsibilities

All the ministers of the Ashta Pradhan Mandal except the Commander-in-Chief belong to the Brahmin community. All, except *Panditrao* and *Nyayadhish* were required to join military expedition when required. Each Minister assisted by officers such as *Diwan*, *Mujumdar*, *Phadnis*, *Sabnis*, *Karkhanis*, *Chitnis*, *Potnis*, *Jumadar* and others who were in charge of 18 *Karkhanas* and 12 *Mahals*.

All Royal letter and treaties were to have the seal of the king along with the endorsement of the first six ministers. Besides these ministers, Shivaji also had Balaji Avaji as his personal secretary (*Chitins*). The advice of Ashta Pradhan was not binding on the king. However, during Sambhaji's time only the post of *Panditrao* and the *Senapati* existed while all the rest were discontinued.

8.2.3 Fundamental Principles of the System

The ministers of the Ashta Pradhan enjoyed the full confidence of their master and were continued in the same post for years except in case of their inability. No post of the ministers was hereditary and all were paid in cash. They were not rewarded any *jagirs*. As M.G.Ranade observed "none of them was able to handover to his descendants large landed estates". Appointments of all the officers under the ministers were to be made by the King probably to have the capable people in the administrative system.

However, Shivaji's Council of Eight Ministers cannot be in anyway compared with the modern Cabinet of Ministers in a democratic setup because they were appointed by the King and not elected. They also cannot be regarded as Heads of Departments as the government was bureaucratic by any means. It was rather autocracy, pure and simple and the autocrat was a practical statesman and a benevolent king. However, Shivaji with his wisdom, created the institution to carry out the administration smoothly.

8.2.4 Territorial Administrative Division

Shivaji's kingdom could be divided into three administrative zones.

1. The North Konkan, including the *ghats*. This zone was placed under the charge of Moropant Trimbak Pingle, the *Peshwa*.
2. The South Konkan Zone was placed under Annaji Datto, the *Sachiv*.
3. The region stretching from Wai to Karnataka was under the charge of Dattaji Pant, the *Waknavis*.

The territory was further divided into districts known as *prant*. In all there were 12 *prants* in Shivaji's Kingdom. There were also some regions that paid tribute to the Marathas. Each *prant* was under the charge of a *Subhedar* who was to perform the civil and revenue duties and was assisted by a *karkun*. The *prant* had further sub divisions called *mahals*

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Military

and were placed under the *Mahalkari* or *Havaldar*. The mahals were divided in such a way that each mahal would yield the approximate revenue of 75,000 to 1, 25,000 *hons*.

8.2.5 Village administration

There was no change in the traditional system of the village administration. A small village was known as *mauze* and the bigger one was called a *kasba*. Several villages together formed a pargana and were under the charge of *Deshpande*, *Deshmukh*, *Patil* and *Kulkarni*.

Shivaji was a political genius and very wisely devised the institution of the *Ashta Pradhan* as he alone could not carry out the administration single handedly.

Check your progress

1) Discuss the Civil administration of Shivaji.

8.3 REVENUE ADMINISTRATION :

Shivaji, being a genius showed a great foresight in organizing his revenue administration. in spite of the constant wars that he was involved in, he set up an excellent revenue system. According to Major Jervis, “In the midst of all this confusion warfare and general disloyalty, the state of revenue and population is said to have prospered.” The peasants during Shivaji’s time were aware of what they had to pay and they seemed to manage it without any oppression. This was possible because Shivaji introduced a flexible system.

Sources of Income

There were mainly four sources of income in Shivaji’s kingdom.

- A. Land Revenue
- B. Taxes
- C. Mints and Coins
- D. *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi*

8.3.1 Land Revenue

This was the chief source of revenue in the Maratha kingdom. Shivaji adopted a detail system of calculating the land revenue that was to be paid by the peasants either in cash or kind. The system was divided into three stages.

- i. The measurement of land – Shivaji found that the old measuring rope was defective as its length varied in different seasons. He replaced it with a *kathi* or a measuring rod for accurate measurement of land. This came to be called as *Shivshahi kathi*. It was five cubits (*haths*) and five fists (*muthis*) in length. Such twenty rods square a *bigha* and 120

bighas became one *chavar*. Thus, the unit of measurement of land was fixed. According to K.N.Chitnis, the land was surveyed three times during the reign of Shivaji. First time by Dadoji Kondadev, second by Moropant Peshwa and third time by Annaji Datto (*sachiv*).

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ii. Assessment of land – Land was assessed under the supervision of Annaji Datto. The officials in the *pargana* along with the villagers examined and categorized it as good, average, poor and bad based on its fertility. It also stated the yield of the crop per *bigha* and whether the land was worth a single crop or more. With all this the minister conducted random survey and accordingly the land revenue was fixed that was generally $2/5^{\text{th}}$ of the gross produce.

iii. Fixation of land cess – To fix the rate of revenue, the kind of soil, the crop cultivated on this soil and the average produce crop were taken into consideration.

8.3.2 Taxes

Various types of taxes were introduced from time to time such as tax on socio-religious functions, on business, professions, trades and special occasions like royal birth. Tax on dinner (*mejvani*), Dessera celebration (*dasrapati*), religious tax (*ulphapati*), on oilmen (*telpati*), on transport of cattle (*sel bail*) and many more such taxes. Tax was also levied on *watandars* at the time of Shivaji's coronation (*sinhasanpati*). Land products were also taxed such as tax on arable land, on the field near the city (*bargujar*), an extra tax on lands watered from wells (*vihirhuda*) etc. The officials such as *Inamdars*, *Mirasdars* and *Deshmukhs* also paid tax known as Patti on the basis of their collections from the *pargana*.

The non-cultivators paid such as businessmen, weavers, artisans, merchants and moneylenders in professional tax in cash. All goods imported and exported were charged octroi which was different for local merchants and foreign traders. The traders also gave a share of their goods as gift (*vangi*) to the state. Though the taxes were large in number some of these were collected only on special occasion, some were levied, probably once in life time and some were introduced only in a particular area.

8.3.3 Mints and Coins

During Shivaji's reign a small income from mint also added to the government treasure. The goldsmith usually obtained a license for starting mint under certain restrictions. Shivaji had his mint at Raigad and according to *Sabhasad Bakhar* there were no less than 32 different kinds of silver coins. There were 4, 00,000 of Shivarai *Hons* at the time of Shivaji's death. Shivaji never controlled the currency and therefore all sorts of foreign coins were in circulation in Shivaji's kingdom.

8.3.4 *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi*

Chauth and *Sardeshmukhi* were two important sources of revenue that strengthened Shivaji's treasure. *Chauth* was the 1/4th or 25% of the collection of the government which was obligatory. *Chauth* was levied on the neighbouring regions belonging to the Mughals and Adilshah. This practice seemed to have been established by the Koli Raja of Ramnagar. He used to levy *chauth* on the inhabitants of some villages of the Portuguese District of Daman and in return would protect these villagers from the attack, plunder by his own people. Shivaji demanded *chauth* as tribute before raiding the territory and if denied raids were conducted. S.N.Sen describes it as "nothing but a tribute exacted from the weak by the strong". Shivaji demanded *chauth* from the Mohammadan enemies for the first time in 1665. In 1676 Shivaji annexed Ramnagar and demanded *chauth* from the Portuguese. Since then Shivaji also collected *chauth* from the Raja of Bednur and Chief of Soonda. Thus it is clear that though Shivaji was not the originator of *chauth*, he was responsible for its wider application.

Sardeshmukhi – Shivaji claimed to be the *Sardeshmukh* of his country and had put forth his claim of right to collect his remuneration for his office of *Sardeshmukh*. It was usually 10% of the revenue collected from the people for the government. This collected amount was called *Sardeshmukhi*. It means Shivaji collected *Sardeshmukhi* from his *Swarajya* and also from his neighbouring territories. M.G.Ranade and G.S.Sardesai are of the opinion that *Sardeshmukhi* was levied by Shivaji along with the *Chauth*. It was a special tax of 10% levied as a special right of the king. It was collected from all the people who paid tax to the state. It seems that Shivaji adopted *Sardeshmukhi* from the *Desais* of Konkan.

8.3.5 Administrative Division and Officials

Shivaji divided the Maratha Country into *maujas*, *tarfs* and *prants* and also intended to do away with the old hereditary revenue officers such as *Patil* and *Kulkarni* in a village and *Deshpande* and *Deshmukh* in districts as they were growing very powerful and dominant over the *rayat*. Shivaji took away all their powers, dismantled their forts or *gadhis* and garrisoned strong places with his own troops.

Shivaji appointed new officers as revenue collectors. The officer incharge of a *mauja* and *tarf* were generally styled as *Havaladar* and *Karkun*. The officer in charge of *prant* was called *Subhedar* or *Mukhia deshadhikari*. The *Subhedar* was further assisted by eight officers. Their posts were not hereditary and were transferred to different places. The *Pant Amatya* and the *Pant Sachiv* supervised the work of the district and provincial officers.

8.3.6 *Watan* System

Watan system was a popular feature of the medieval times. *Watan* is an Arabic word that meant one's own country. During the Maratha period

watan signified a hereditary estate, office, right etc. It was hereditary right in land or in office and was granted by the state to a hereditary officer or servant for their services. Those *watandars* who were formerly serving the Muslim rulers continued to work with Shivaji when he annexed those Muslim territories. During Shivaji's time the *Chitnis* looked after the *watan* administration. All letters related to their rights and possession of old *watans* in force in kingdom or foreign territories were written by the *Chitins*.

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The Marathas regarded the *watan* system as an instrument of political career, sign of dignity and prestige and a means of livelihood and therefore preferred to remain *watandars* rather than accept any higher position in the state government. Shivaji realized that he could not eliminate *watandari* system totally and so tried to introduce certain changes in it in his territory. In order to make *watandars* powerless Shivaji completely dismantled their fortifications and appointed his new men to look after the important forts. He wanted to curb their activities such as dominating the *rayats*, collecting revenues and not depositing it in the government treasury.

8.3.7 Income and Expenditure in Shivaji's Kingdom

According to *Sabhasad Bakhar* Shivaji's income from revenue and taxes was about Rs. 7 Lakhs per annum. J.N.Sarkar stated that large amount of treasure and other valuable articles in possession of Shivaji's treasury increased the size of wealth of Shivaji's kingdom. Shivaji had a well-knit civil and military administration and therefore the expenditure was categorized under various heads such as expenses on central government viz. *Ashta Pradhan Mandal*, on which he spent about Rs. 1,30,000 in the form of salaries besides the salaries of the officers who assisted the ministers.

Shivaji's expenditure on military and navy was very high. The military consisted of large number of officials and soldiers, animals, etc. He also had 240 forts and about 700 vessels and it is difficult to calculate the expenditure. Also, the expenditure on the revenue staff was quite a sizeable amount. Expenditure was also incurred by way of grants for established traditional schools, to scholars, physicians and deserving students. Brahmins were also honoured with rewards. Shivaji made endowments towards Hindu temples and Muslim saints, tombs and mosques alike.

Thus, in spite of his constant wars he was succeeded in setting up marvelous revenue administration and financial system. M.G. Ranade therefore remarks "like the first Napoleon, Shivaji in his own time was a great organizer and builder of civil institutions".

Check your progress

- 1) Examine the revenue administration of Shivaji.

8.4 JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION :

Shivaji's judicial system was based on the principles of Hindu Laws and *Smritis* books and followed them while settling disputes in his kingdom. Though Shivaji was the head of the Maratha State he had limited and restricted powers, as the king had to permit some local judicial bodies to administer the justice. Shivaji introduced an organized form of government for maintaining law and order in the kingdom. T.T.Mahajan points out that Shivaji's idea of justice may be gathered from his letters addressed to the governors, local officers of his *Swarajya*. These letters are the directives that the king expects the judicial heads at the local level to follow while giving justice. The system of separation of judiciary from the executive did not prevail in Shivaji's time.

8.4.1 Features of the judicial system

Shivaji's administration of justice was simple and primitive in nature and also suitable to the times. It did not prescribe any code of law and procedure and therefore everything was informal. Amicable settlements were mostly encouraged. Also, at times to discontinue ill feelings between the contesting parties, the defeated party was shown some consideration. Justice in his kingdom was imparted without fear and favour. No interference by his officials or known person in administration was allowed. Shivaji always considered the king as the protector and executor of law. He never tried to rule out or surpass the decisions taken by the judicial bodies. All men, irrespective of caste, creed or religion were treated equal before *Dharma* (Law). No person was to be imprisoned without proper investigation and trial.

8.4.2 King – The Head of the Judiciary

The king was the head of the judiciary system and the highest court was called "*Huzur Hazir Majlis*" (court of the king or *Rajsabha*). Besides the king this body consisted of his Chief Judge and the Panditrao, a minister for religion and also the state officials. This court was also regarded as the court of appeal against the justice administered by the local courts. All royal decisions or orders issued by the king to the *Subhedars* and *Hawaldars* in the *suba* were signed by the members of the *Rajsabha*. Next in power to the king was the *Nyayadish* (Chief Justice) who decided both the civil and criminal cases.

8.4.3 Provincial administration of justice

a) Subhedar

The kingdom was divided into *Subas* headed by a *Subhedar* who was the representative of the king in the provincial administration. He had the power to do justice and execute the decision. He had the responsibility of general supervision over the civil and criminal justice in the territory under his jurisdiction. The *Deshmukh* of a *Pargana* assisted the *Subhedar* and sent civil cases to the *Subhedar* for decisions. The *Deshmukh* was

instructed to take a written agreement about the final decision (known as *Rajinama*) from both the parties in dispute. The *Subhedar* had to supervise the prisoners kept in the *Adabkhana* and were released from confinement on his recommendation. He was authorized to collect some amount as fee to be recovered by the parties involved in the dispute. He possessed the power to grant *Inam* land to the person who received it in exchange of an earlier *Inam*. He also supervised the cases of land revenue and the judiciary functions of the *Hawaladar*.

b) Deshmukh

The *Deshmukh* of *Pargana* supervised the revenue affairs and looked after the judicial cases. He had jurisdiction over the civil and criminal disputes in the *pargana*. He was to watch the proceedings of the *Pargana Majlis* and send his report to the king. The king also gave him the power to decide the case involving the rights over the *watan*. While acting as a Judge, the *Deshmukh* was to tell the *karina* or (story of the dispute) or written statements given by the plaintiff before the member of the *Hazir Majlis* when called for deciding the case.

c) Hawaladar

He was the government officer who presided over the *Mahal* or *Thana*. The boundary disputes between two villages were settled by him. The *Hawaladar* was to send the report about the judgement declared by the *Majlis* to the king. He also was to look after the administration of prison. The nature of the work of *Hawaladar* was that of a police officer as he had to maintain peace and order in territory under his jurisdiction. He was to see that the debtor repays the loan to the creditor in due course.

d) The Mokadam

The *Mokadam* in village performed duties of the police and civil duties. He was the head of the village and supervised the village administration. He also was in charge of the civil and criminal justice of the village. The *Mokadam* acted as Chairman of the village *Gotasabha*.

8.4.4 Justice at village level

At the village level, judicial administration was managed by the *Panchayat*. *Patil* was the judicial official. Above him were the *Mamlatdar* and *Sarsubhedar*. All the religious matters were presented before the *Panditrao*.

8.4.5 Other Sabhas

a. *Brahmasabha* – The body of learned Brahmins was called a *Brahmasabha* and it met at holy places of the Hindus. They were also called as *Dharmadhikaris*. This body interpreted controversial socio-religious matters. For instance, one such *sabha* was called by Shivaji to decide his *Kshatriya* origin and his right to perform coronation

ceremony according to *vedic* rites. Also, property disputes among the Brahmins were generally heard here.

b. *Deshak Sabha* – It was composed of *Deshmukhs*, *Deshpandes*, *Patils*, *Balutas*, *Shete-Mahajans* in the towns. It was presided over by an officer '*Rajmudra*' who heard cases relating to several villages. Rehearing of cases was asked for by the dissatisfied party.

8.4.6 Evidence, Ordeal and Judgment

In civil cases parties were required to produce documentary evidences as well as written evidences depending on the nature of the case. According to *Yajnavalkya Smriti*, there are 3 types of evidences i) written ii) possession iii) witness.

Offence and Penalty – Shivaji followed trials laid down in the *Dharmashastras* for punishing the offenders. The types of crimes committed during those times were adultery, forgery, theft, offences relating to false witness or complaints, offence by defalcation, etc. the punishments were severe, such as imprisonment, confiscation of property, fines, mutilation and capital punishment. However, cases of capital punishments being awarded to anyone have not been traced.

Judgment At the conclusion of the cases the judgement in the form of a document called '*Nivadpatra*' was given to the winner and a copy of it was kept for the official record.

Fee In cases related to money bonds, usual fee was 25% of the money realized. In cases of division of property valued upto Rs. 300 no fee was charged, but if above it, a fee at rate of 10% of the property value was charged.

The Maratha judicial administration excelled in simplicity. Elphinstone, though was highly critical of the system, appreciated the merits of the *Panchayat* system and recommended its continuation even after the fall of the Maratha Empire.

Check your progress

1) Write a detail note on judicial administration of Shivaji.

8.5 MILITARY ADMINISTRATION:

Shivaji's frequent expeditions for territorial expansion required a well organized and efficient military organization that would help in the defense of his newly created kingdom. Shivaji was successful in constructing a very effective army under his leadership. He was not in favour of adopting the traditional feudal military set up, as was done by the Mughal army and the armies of the Sultan. Shivaji exercised complete control over the army as he had to protect his kingdom against the invaders who were more powerful and resourceful than him. He needed to inspire his soldiers towards patriotism. Being a military

genius, he introduced a system of keeping a regular standing army, always in a state of preparedness.

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8.5.1 Features of Defense System

Shivaji emphasized on watchfulness, swift action and guerilla tactics. Forts were an important feature of the military organization. Geographical features were given more importance as hilly tracts and coastal land demanded different tactics. Cavalry and Infantry were equally important parts of the defense. Founding the Navy was necessary and important for defending the seacoast from the Portuguese, the Dutch and others.

8.5.2 Composition of Shivaji's Defense System

The king was to be the Commander-in-Chief although separate minister was given the charge of it. Shivaji's army consisted of Royal Body Guards, Cavalry, Infantry, Elephant and Camel Cores, fort guards and spies. Shivaji also maintained a powerful Navy. Recruitment in the army was done personally by Shivaji on the basis of merit and caliber without any discrimination.

a. Royal Body Guards – Shivaji had a special body of troops for his personal protection. He personally selected the best, strong, brave and faithful men as his body guards. They were grouped as musketeers, spearmen, light armed men and artillery men. These 2000 to 2500 men were provided uniforms by the government and given the charge of a *Jumledar* and a *Hazari*. While Shivaji was on campaigns, they marched on the four sides of his palanquin or horse, alert and keeping strict vigil.

b. Cavalry – The cavalry consisted of two types of troop viz. *bargirs* and *shiledars*. The *bargirs* were appointed by the state and were given horses and weapons by the state. The *shiledars* were appointed by the state but had their own horses and weapons and sometimes also a body of troops armed at their own expenses. The organization of the *bargirs* and *shiledars* was as follows:

25 men formed a unit and placed a *havaladar* viz.

25 Soldiers - 1 *Havaladar*

5 *Havaldars* - 1 *Jumledar* (salary of 500 *hons* pa.)

10 *Jumledars* - 1 *Hazari* (salary of 1000 *hons* pa.)

5 *Hazaris* - *Panch Hazari* (salary of 2000 *hons* pa.)

All *Panch Hazari* were directly under the *Sarnobat* (Commander-in-Chief). Each unit was accompanied with a water carrier and a ferrier. Each *Hazari* had a *Sabnis*, *Karkhanis*, *Mujumdar* and *Jamenis* working under him. Shivaji had a permanent and regular cavalry.

c. **Infantry** – The soldiers were mainly recruited from the Maval region as they were accustomed to the difficult geographical terrain. In the infantry each unit of 10 soldiers was placed under one *Naik* viz.

10 Soldiers - 1 *Naik*

5 *Naiks* - 1 *Havaladar*

2/3 *Havaldars* - 1 *Jumledar*

10 *Jumledars* - 1 *Hazari*

7 *Hazari* - *Sarnobat of infantry*

According to J. N. Sarkar “Shivaji’s Guard Brigade of 2000 select *Mavle* infantry was splendidly equipped, dressed and armed at great expense to the state”. Shivaji never recommended his soldiers to carry heavy equipment or arms as that would affect their speed. Dressed in fight fitting breeches, cotton jackets and turbans, armed mainly with swords, spears and lances, bows and arrows, the soldiers were ready to march at a moment’s notice.

d. **Elephant and Camel Corps** – The elephant and camel corps, though small in number, was required to carry heavy guns, luggage and posts. According to *Sabhasad*, at the end of Shivaji’s reign the number of elephants was 1250, whereas *Chitnis Bakhar* stated that only 350 elephants of which 100 were kept for state use and the rest were given to nobles and others. Shivaji’s camel corps had about 1000 to 1500 camels.

e. **Fort Guards** – Forts were of great importance in the Maratha Kingdom. Though the exact number differs according to different sources, it can be said that there were more than 240 forts under Shivaji. A number of acquired or occupied forts that were ruined and neglected were repaired and few new were created such as Raigad and Pratapgad. The forts along the seacoast were known as *durgs* and those atop of hills were called *gads*. There were also ground forts for e.g. Kalyan, Chakan, Jinji and Vellore. Forts gave a control over 25 to 50 miles of the territory around.

Each fort was placed under the control of three chief officers namely *Havaladar*, *Sabnis* and *Karkhanis* who belonged to Maratha, Brahmin and Prabhu community, respectively. They were to cooperate and serve as checks to one another. Above all was the *Sarnobat*, who was a Maratha. The *Havaladar* was in charge of the security of the fort. The *Sabnis* was incharge of the accounts in general and the muster roll in particular including all correspondence with the government. The *karkhanis* mainly looked into regular grain stores and provisions in the fort and the areas under the jurisdiction of the fort.

A check over the enemies was kept by the *Rakhaldas* around the fort walls. The *Ramoshis* and the *Mangs* also contributed to the security of the fort at the foothills of the fort. The forts acted as a line of defence along the north, northwest and also in the Karnataka region of

the *Swarajya*. The strategic location and the administration of the forts kept the *Swarajya* secured from the enemies.

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f. Spy System – Shivaji set up a very effective spy system under Bahirji Naik. The spies provided up to date information of the enemy strength and plan as it adds to the success of any military operation.

g. Regulations for the Military – To make his military system effective Shivaji had laid down a set of wise regulations that were strictly enforced upon the men in his army. Some of them are as follows:

- i. No misconduct by the soldiers.
- ii. No woman, female slave or dancer should accompany the army.
- iii. No woman or child to be taken captive in enemy territory.
- iv. No cows, but only bullocks should be taken along for transport purpose.
- v. No Brahmin should be molested or taken hostage for ransom.
- vi. Every soldier must deposit the booty in the royal treasury.
- vii. Army should start an expedition on the Dasra day, after the rainy season was over.

Besides the code of conduct, Shivaji also made elaborate arrangements for the welfare of his soldiers. The soldiers received their salary in time in cash, rewards for bravery and were given advance salaries when in need. Compensation was paid to the family on the death of the soldier on the battlefield and the orphans were enlisted in the army. The soldiers were expected to maintain the set discipline or else would be severely punished.

h. War techniques – Shivaji adopted the guerilla war technique which was unique in those times and was successful in defeating his enemies. According to J.N.Sarkar, Shivaji's inborn military genius is provided by his instinctively adopting that system of warfare which was most suited to the racial character of his soldiers, the nature of the country, the weapons of the age and the internal condition of his enemy.

However, the discipline in the system set up by Shivaji seemed to have lapsed after him probably due to the civil war among the Marathas and the result was disastrous for all.

Shivaji made a brave attempt in organizing his army in a unique way. His strict discipline made him a distinguished ruler and far ahead of his age.

8.5.3 Marathas Naval Organization

Shivaji realized the importance of strong naval force to protect the extensive sea-coast of his territory and the sea borne trade. The Siddis

and the Europeans dominated the western coast of India. Soon after his conquest of Konkan, Shivaji raised a fleet consisting of about 500 small vessels mainly *Gallivats* and *Ghurabs* and rivercrafts of various descriptions such as *shibands*, *tarandis*, *pagaar*, *machwas* and trading vessels. Shivaji placed his navy under the command of Admiral *Daria Sarang* and an official *Mai Nak*. A few years later another Muhammedan Admiral Daulat Khan was appointed in Shivaji's navy. The sailors in the navy belonged to the sea fearing communities such as *Kolis*, *Bhandaris*, *Sanghars*, *Vaghars* and the *Agres*.

According to J.N.Sarkar Shivaji brought the first naval ship into the sea after capturing Kalyan in 1659 and the expansion continued with Konkan area coming under his control. Shivaji stepped up his foreign trade. His naval officers captured a ship of Afzal Khan and used it for trading purpose for quite some time. Mughal ships leaving Surat to Mecca were also looted by Shivaji's navy. Sabhasad Bakhar states that Shivaji's fleet not only harassed the indigenous sea powers of the south but also plundered the ships and possessions of European powers such as the Portuguese, the Dutch and the English. However, his fleet was inferior to that of the English in efficiency though not in number. It must be noted that Shivaji's sailors had, on more than one occasion attacked Portuguese men of war with success. In 1670 a large Portuguese ship was captured near Daman by the Maratha fleet.

Besides doing policing against the Siddi's private fleet Shivaji's navy was also employed in taking possession of foreign vessels wrecked on his coast and collected duty from trading ship. The Siddis, Portuguese and the British all faced the wrath of Shivaji's navy. The coastal towns such as Dabhol, Rajapuri, Colaba and Khanderi were strengthened by fortifying and constructing the sea forts named Sindhudurg and Vijaydurg. Suvarnadurg, Jaidurg, Anjanvel, Ratnagiri were other sea forts.

Sea trade activities connected the Malabar Coast with towns of Arabia. The Angres did not allow the naval spirit to die even after the death of Shivaji. They maintained the reputation till the destruction of their fleet by the combined efforts of the Peshwa and the English.

8.6 SUMMARY:

Shivaji not only established Swaraj, but with the help of a sound administrative system, consolidated his position and created a welfare state. His gift of judging character was one of the main causes of his success, as his selection of generals and officers, diplomats and secretaries were never faulty and his administration, both civil and military was unrivalled for efficiency.

He created a welfare state in which the happiness of the subjects was closest to Shivaji's heart. According to the J.N. Sarkar "Shivaji was not only the maker of the Maratha nation, but also the greatest constructive genius".

8.7 QUESTIONS:

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1. Discuss the civil and judicial administration of the Marathas during the reign of Shivaji.
2. Describe the features of Shivaji's military administration.
3. Trace the revenue system established by Shivaji.
4. Write short notes on the following:
 - a. Ashta Pradhan Mandal
 - b. Judicial Organisation
 - c. Naval Organisation under Shivaji

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